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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

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GUSTAV GRUENBAUM

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H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

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## CONTENTS

FALCONER, J. A.—The Sources of 'A Tale of Two Cities,'	1
CHINARD, GILBERT.—Les Sources d'un poème de Leconte de Lisle,	10
CRAWFORD, J. P. W.—A Note on the 'Comedia Calamita' of Torres Naharro,	15
THOMPSON, E. N. S.—Milton's Part in 'Theatrum Poetarum,'	18
MCCUTCHEON, ROGER P.—A Note on 'Cant,'	22
LOVEJOY, A. O.—'Pride' in Eighteenth-Century Thought,	31

Reviews:—

RICHARD T. HOLBROOK, Etude sur Pathelin. [Louis Cons.]	37
JAMES F. MASON, Pierre Loti, <i>Pêcheur d'Islande</i> . [Horatio E. Smith.]	43
FRANK W. CHANDLER, The Contemporary Drama of France. [William H. Scheifley.]	45
WALTHER KÜCHLER, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Fritz von Unruh. Vier Vorträge. [Paul R. Pope.]	48

Correspondence:—

WOODBRIDGE, BENJ. M.— <i>Le Horla</i> ,	51
CHEW, SAMUEL C.—Beaumont on Drunkenness,	53
LE BOUTILLIER, MRS. MARTIN.—Bale's <i>Kynge Johan</i> and <i>The Troublesome Raigne</i> ,	55
WILLIAMS, STANLEY T.—English Performances of <i>Timon of Athens</i> ,	57
MUSTARD, W. P.—Pegasus as the Poet's Steed,	58
HULBERT, J. R.—An Hoccleve Item,	59

Brief Mention:—

ERICH NEUNER, Ueber ein- und dreibeige Halbverse in der altenglischen alliterierenden Poesie;—M. A. BAYFIELD, A Study of Shakespeare's Versification,	59
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

	PAGE
Falconer, J. A., The Sources of <i>A Tale of Two Cities</i> .....	1
Chinard, Gilbert, Les Sources d'un poème de Leconte de Lisle.....	10
Crawford, J. P. W., A Note on the <i>Comedia Calamita</i> of Torres Naharro .....	15
Thompson, E. N. S., Milton's Part in <i>Theatrum Poetarum</i> .....	18
McCutcheon, Roger P., A Note on <i>Cant</i> .....	22
Lovejoy, A. O., <i>Pride</i> in Eighteenth-Century Thought.....	31
Wharey, J. B., Bunyan's <i>Mr. Badman</i> .....	65
Hayens, Kenneth, Schiller's <i>Jungfrau von Orleans</i> and the historic Maid of Orleans.....	79
Thaler, Alwin, Was Richard Brome an Actor?.....	88
Van Roosbroeck, Gust. L., The Source of De Sallebray's <i>Amante Ennemie</i> .....	92
Tatlock, John S. P., Chaucer's "Eleanor".....	95
Beatty, Joseph M., Jr., Garrick, Colman, and <i>The Clandestine Marriage</i> .....	129
Sloan, Arthur S., Juan de Luna's <i>Lazarillo</i> and the French Translation of 1660.....	141
Phelps, Ruth S., The Riming Clue in Dante.....	144
Draper, John W., Queen Anne's Act: A Note on English Copyright,	146
Mustard, W. P., Notes on Ben Jonson's <i>Catiline</i> .....	154
Kuhl, E. P., Chaucer and the "Fowle Ok".....	157
Williams, Stanley T., The Early Sentimental Dramas of Richard Cumberland .....	160
Frank, Grace, Critical Notes on the <i>Palatine Passion</i> .....	193
Hohlfeld, A. R., The Poems in Carlyle's Translation of <i>Wilhelm Meister</i> .....	205
Emerson, O. F., Two Notes on <i>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</i> ....	212
Davidson, L. J., Forerunners of Goldsmith's <i>The Citizen of the World</i> ,	215
Goddard, Eunice R., Color in Lamartine's <i>Jocelyn</i> .....	221
Schaffer, Aaron, The Sources of Théodore de Banville's <i>Gringoire</i> ....	225
Guyer, Foster E., "C'est nous qui sommes les anciens".....	257
Haraszti, Jules, En glanant chez La Fontaine.....	264
Curry, Walter C., Two Notes on Chaucer.....	272
Morley, Edith J., Joseph Warton's Criticism of Pope.....	276
Jordan, John C., Davenport's <i>The City Nightcap</i> and Greene's <i>Philomela</i> .....	281
Kuhl, Ernest P., Shakspere's Purpose in Dropping Sly.....	321
Knowlton, E. C., Nature in Earlier Italian.....	329
Dale, George I., The Date of Antonio de Villegas' Death.....	334
Thaler, Alwin, Thomas Goffe's <i>Præludium</i> .....	337

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Sherwin, Proctor F., Detached Similes in Milton's Epics.....	341
Cobb, Margaret E., Pope's Lines on Atticus.....	348
Perott, Joseph de, Welsh Bits in the Tudor and Stuart Drama.....	352
Havens, George R., The Theory of "Natural Goodness" in Rousseau's <i>Nouvelle Héloïse</i> .....	385
Heuser, Frederick W. J., Personal and Literary Relations of Hauptmann and Wedekind.....	395
Williams, Stanley T., The Dramas of Richard Cumberland.....	403
Campbell, Oscar J., Wordsworth Bandies Jests with Matthew.....	408
Himes, John A., Further Interpretations of Milton.....	414
Eddy, William A., A Source for <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> .....	419
Williams, Ralph C., Metrical Form of the Epic, as discussed by sixteenth-century Critics.....	449
Guillaume, Gabrielle, The Prologues of the <i>Lay le Freine</i> and <i>Sir Orfeo</i> .....	458
Hankiss, Jean, Schelandre et Shakespeare.....	464
McKillop, Alan D., Some Early Traces of Rabelais in English Literature .....	469
Cox, Sidney H., Chaucer's Cheerful Cynicism.....	475

## REVIEWS

Richard T. Holbrook, Etude sur Pathelin. [ <i>Louis Cons.</i> ].....	37
James F. Mason, Pierre Loti, <i>Pêcheur d'Islande</i> . [ <i>Horatio E. Smith.</i> ].....	43
Frank W. Chandler, The Contemporary Drama of France. [ <i>William H. Scheifley.</i> ].....	45
Walther Küchler, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Fritz von Uruh. Vier Vorträge. [ <i>Paul R. Pope.</i> ].....	48
Gustave Lanson, Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française. [ <i>H. Carrington Lancaster.</i> ].....	98
Sir Israel Gollancz, <i>A Good Short Debate between Winner and Waster</i> . [ <i>J. M. Steadman, Jr.</i> ].....	103
P. B. Fay, The Use of TU and VOUS in Molière. [ <i>Edward H. Sirich.</i> ].....	110
Watson Nicholson, Anthony Aston, Stroller and Adventurer. [ <i>Oral S. Coad.</i> ].....	112
J.-Roger Charbonnel, La Pensée italienne au XVI <sup>e</sup> siècle et le courant libertin. [ <i>John L. Gerig.</i> ].....	166
Albrecht Janssen, Die Frauen rings um Friedrich Hebbel. Neue Materialien zu ihrer Erkenntnis. [ <i>T. M. Campbell.</i> ].....	174
Karl Young, <i>Ordo Rachelis</i> . [ <i>Grace Frank.</i> ].....	180
Gordon Hall Gerould, Saints' Legends. [ <i>George L. Hamilton.</i> ].....	230
Kenneth Hayens, Theodor Fontane. A Critical Study. [ <i>F. Schoemann.</i> ] .....	242
Shirley G. Patterson, <i>L'Etat de Guerre and Projet de Paix Perpétuelle</i> , two essays by J.-J. Rousseau. [ <i>Albert Schinz.</i> ].....	245

## CONTENTS

v

	PAGE
Milton A. Buchanan and Bernard Franzen-Swedelius, Lope de Vega, <i>Amar sin Saber a Quién.</i> [E. C. Hills.].....	284
Agnes R. Riddell, Flaubert and Maupassant: A Literary Relationship. [Ray P. Bowen.].....	293
Robert Withington, English Pageantry, An Historical Outline. Volume II. [Howard R. Patch.].....	296
Hyder E. Rollins, Old English Ballads, 1553-1625. [H. M. Belden.]..	300
Lawrence M. Price, English-German Literary Influences. Bibliography and Survey. [F. Schoenemann.].....	354
Ferdinand Lot, Etude sur le Lancelot en prose. [Gertrude Schoepperle.] .....	358
Austin Smith, L'Influence des Lakistes sur les Romantiques Français. [Gilbert Chinard.].....	363
William Davids, Verslag van een onderzoek betreffende de betrekkingen tusschen de Nederlandsche en de Spaansche letterkunde in de 16 <sup>e</sup> -18 <sup>e</sup> eeuw. [J. E. Gillet.].....	366
Walter C. Phillips, Dickens, Reade, and Collins. Sensation Novelists. [Samuel C. Chew.].....	369
Albert Schinz, French Literature of the Great War. [André Morize.]	422
T. B. Rudmose-Brown, <i>La Galerie du Palais</i> , comédie par Pierre Corneille, edited. [H. Carrington Lancaster.].....	427
Emil Ermatinger, Gottfried Kellers Leben; Emil Ermatinger, Gottfried Kellers Briefe und Tagebücher; Max Kalbeck, Paul Heyse und Gottfried Keller im Briefwechsel.	} [Edward F. Hauch.] 430
Johnson Club Papers by Various Hands. [James H. Pitman.].....	436
Friedrich Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. [W. Kurrelmeyer.].....	482
Louise Pound, Poetic Origins and the Ballad. [Albert H. Tolman.]	490
Hermann Suchier, <i>Aucassin und Nicolette</i> . [W. L. Bullock.].....	497
C. H. C. Wright, <i>Les Femmes Savantes</i> , by Molière. [M. P. Brush.]	502

## CORRESPONDENCE

Woodbridge, Benj. M., <i>Le Horla</i> .....	51
Chew, Samuel C., Beaumont on Drunkenness.....	53
Le Boutillier, Mrs. Martin, Bale's <i>Kynge Johan</i> and <i>The Troublesome Raigne</i> .....	55
Williams, Stanley T., English Performances of <i>Timon of Athens</i> ....	57
Mustard, W. P., Pegasus as the Poet's Steed.....	58
Hulbert, J. R., An Hoccleve Item.....	59
Taylor, Archer, "In the Evening Praise the Day".....	115
Taylor, Robert L., George Ticknor on Chateaubriand.....	118

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Graves, Thornton S., The Echo-Device.....	120
Hanford, James H., Milton and Ochino.....	121
Hulbert, J. R., A Chaucer Item.....	123
Tuell, Anne K., Note on Spenser's Clarion.....	182
Hammond, Eleanor P., The Lost Quires of a Shirley Codex.....	184
Woodbridge, Benj. M., Maupassant's Version of <i>Les Dous Amanz</i> .....	185
Raven, Anton A., A Note on <i>King Lear</i> .....	187
Havens, Raymond D., Aaron Hill's Poem on Blank Verse.....	247
Merrill, L. R., George Herbert's <i>Church Porch</i> .....	249
Hammond, Eleanor P., The Texts of Lydgate's <i>Danse Macabre</i> .....	250
Bush, J. D., A Note on <i>Beowulf</i> 1600-1605.....	251
Kennedy, Arthur G., A Bibliography of the English Language.....	304
Baum, Paull F., Chaucer's "Faste by the Belle," <i>C. T.</i> A 719.....	307
Tuell, Anne K., The Original End of <i>Faerie Queene</i> , Book III.....	309
Nichols, Charles W., The Date of <i>Tumble-Down Dick</i> .....	312
Leisy, Ernest E., John Trumbull's Indebtedness to Thomas Warton ..	313
Williams, Stanley T., The Sources of Landor's <i>Gebir</i> .....	315
Peck, Walter E., A Note on Shelley and Peacock.....	371
Smith, Preserved, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.....	374
Parry, John J., Doctor Johnson's Interest in Welsh.....	374
Baldwin, Edward C., The Authorized Version's Influence upon Milton's Diction .....	376
Benham, Allen R., A Note on the <i>Comedy of Errors</i> .....	377
Henning, Geo. N., Toutes Choses.....	438
Trombley, Albert E., A Note on Biré's <i>Victor Hugo après 1830</i> ....	439
Van Roosbroeck, G. L., The Birthplace of Puget de la Serre.....	440
Woodbridge, Benj. M., Pathelin, Line 344.....	441
Beatty, Joseph M., Jr., Notes on the Authorship of <i>The North Briton</i> ,	442
Wise, B. A., The Disjunctive Possessive.....	503
Greg, W. W., Bale's <i>Kynge Johan</i> .....	505
Gilbert, A. H., A Note on Shelley, Blake, and Milton.....	505
Sly, Blanche C., <i>The Bent Bow</i> .....	507

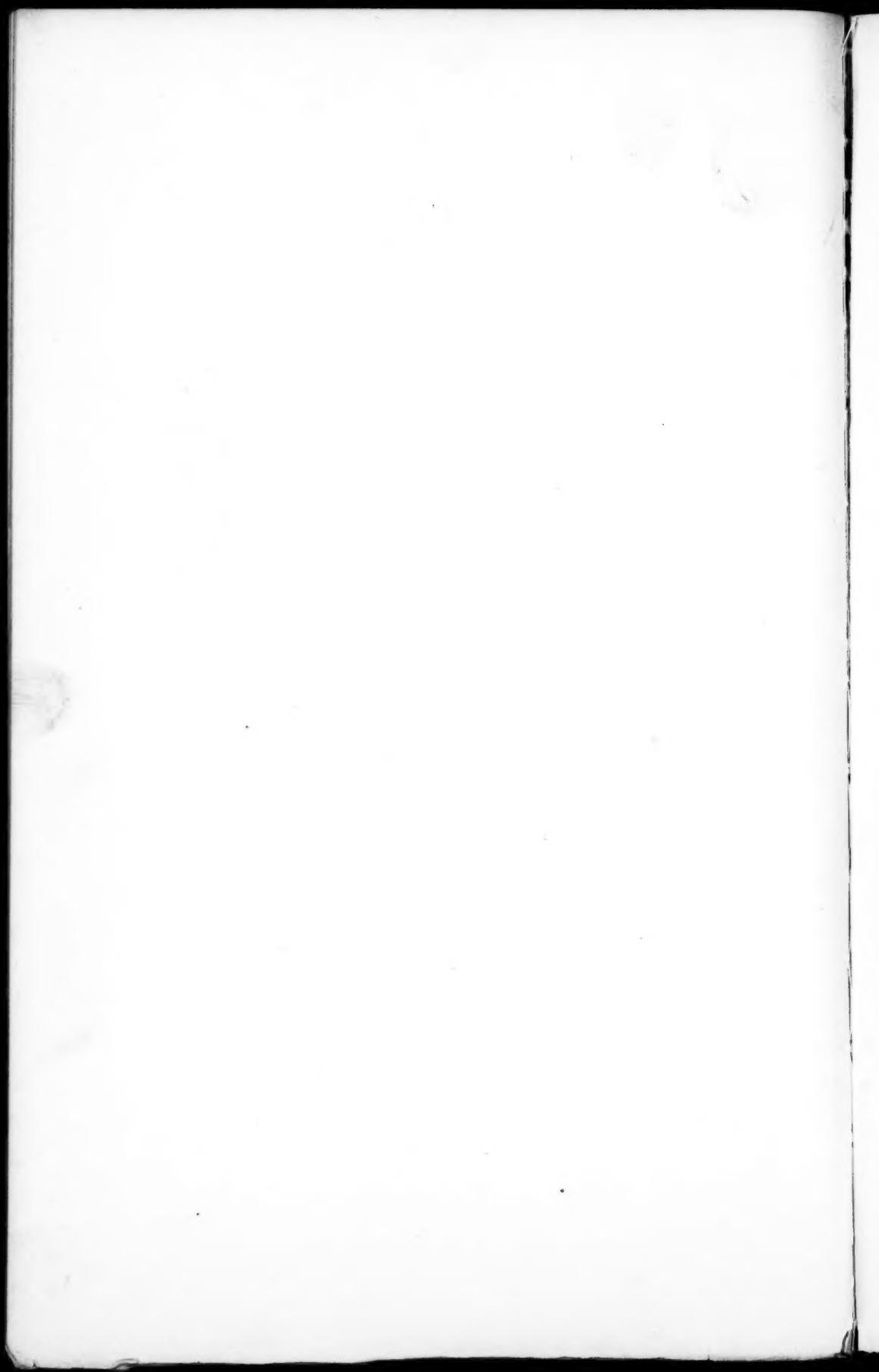
## BRIEF MENTION

Erich Neuner, Ueber ein- und dreihebige Halbverse in der altenglischen alliterierenden Poesie. [J. W. Bright.].....	59
M. A. Bayfield, A Study of Shakespeare's Versification. [J. W. Bright.] .....	63
Eduard Eckhardt, Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst, dargestellt von Bernhard ten Brink. [J. W. Bright.].....	123
Robert M. Gay, Writing Through Reading. [J. C. French.].....	127
Mairet's <i>Illustre Corsaire</i> . [H. C. Lancaster.].....	128
Frederick M. Padelford, The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. [J. W. Bright.].....	188
W. F. Smith, Readings from Rabelais. [H. C. Lancaster.].....	192

## CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
Arthur G. Kennedy, The Modern English Verb-Adverb Combination. [ <i>J. W. Bright.</i> ].....	252
Albert Keiser, The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry. [ <i>J. W. Bright.</i> ].....	315
Frank L. Schoell, <i>Charlemagne (The Distracted Emperor)</i> Drame Elisabethan Anonyme. [ <i>S. C. Chew.</i> ].....	318
Mary, Countess of Lovelace, Ralph, Earl of Lovelace: a Memoir. [ <i>J. D. Bruce.</i> ].....	319
Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, On the Art of Reading. [ <i>J. W. Bright.</i> ]..	378
E. M. Smith-Dampier, Danish Ballads, translated. [ <i>H. M. Belden.</i> ]..	381
B. Delbrück, Grundlagen der neu hochdeutschen Satzlehre. [ <i>G. O. Curme.</i> ] .....	382
Frank G. Hubbard, The First Quarto Edition of Shakespeare's <i>Hamlet</i> . [ <i>J. W. Tupper.</i> ].....	383
Richard F. Jones, The Background of <i>The Battle of the Books</i> . [ <i>J. W. Bright.</i> ].....	443
Hermann Fischer, Schwäbisches Wörterbuch. [ <i>W. Kurrelmeyer.</i> ]....	446
Jean Vie, Charles Dufresny's <i>Amusemens sérieux et comiques</i> . [ <i>J. E. Gillet.</i> ].....	447
J. Gómez Ocerín y R. M. Tenreiro, Comedias de Lope de Vega, t. I. [ <i>J. Robles.</i> ].....	448
Anne E. Burlingame, The Battle of the Books in its Historical Setting. [ <i>J. W. Bright.</i> ].....	508
<hr/>	
Index .....	513
Recent Publications.....	i-xxxii



# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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JANUARY, 1921

NUMBER 1

---

## THE SOURCES OF A TALE OF TWO CITIES

### I

Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* really consists of two tales, which he contrived to interweave with more than his usual art. These are the story of Doctor Manette's living death in the Bastille and that of Sydney Carton's self-sacrifice on the scaffold. These constitute the two strong situations, the beginning and the end of the action, from which and towards which, in the finished novel, all intermediate action flows. It is interesting to see, as we presently shall, that it was just these two situations which, when the novel was in conception, first shaped themselves in Dickens' mind and thus originated the whole plot.

We know from Dickens himself that the second, that of self-sacrifice, came first and was his motive in writing the novel at all. It occurred to him, he tells us in his preface, while acting in Wilkie Collins' play *The Frozen Deep*. This play turned on the sufficiently trite subject of contest between a successful and an unsuccessful lover. In disgust and vowing vengeance, the latter, Richard Wardour, offers himself for an expedition to the North Pole, in which his successful rival also engages. The expedition comes to grief. After some years the explorers determine to send a party to try to reach civilization and bring help. Frederick having volunteered, Richard does so too. The two get separated from the rest of the party, which succeeds in reaching Newfoundland, and finds there Clara, the apple of discord of the piece, come out from England in search of news. In despair, she is now preparing to sail for home again, when Richard appears, in the last stage of

exhaustion, carrying Frederick, whom he lays at Clara's feet. He confesses that he had originally meant to kill his rival but that gradually his heart had softened; in point of fact he had cared for him and deprived himself of food for his sake. Now worn out by hardship, he dies while Frederick recovers.<sup>1</sup>

In the private theatricals in summer, 1857, at which Dickens produced this fantastic play, he took the part of Richard Wardour himself, and, in his usual way, not played it merely but lived it. From identifying himself with the character to the desire to embody it in a novel was an easy step, but for some months, as Forster indicates, the idea took no definite shape.<sup>2</sup> In other words, he had conceived so far merely the general situation — a man for love's sake giving his life for his rival—without details or local setting.

Thus the matter rested till the beginning of the following year. *Little Dorrit* had to be got off the stocks and it is not till the opening months of 1858 that we have indications of the new novel in his mind. Then it is evident that the second of the situations has now presented itself. His mind is now dwelling not on the end of the story but, naturally enough, on the beginning, to which he wished to get started. We find him proposing to call the novel *One of these Days*, or *Buried Alive*, or *The Thread of Gold* (in allusion to the power of Lucie Manette to make her father forget his past, as in the novel, Book II, chap. 4), or *The Doctor of Beauvais*.<sup>3</sup> These titles all refer to the Doctor Manette side of the novel and he has obviously got it clear before his mind's eye. Further he has fixed on France (Beauvais), and what other prison in France for burying a man alive in would he think of but the Bastille? In short, he had now, we cannot doubt, decided on the French Revolution as the scene of events.

This he did under the influence of Carlyle's *The French Revolution* which, eight years before this, he declared he had read for the five hundredth time.<sup>4</sup> Carlyle suggested the theatre of events;

<sup>1</sup> In some insignificant details such as the names of the characters, the original play differs from the story Collins afterwards made from it to read during his tour in the United States, 1873-74, and which may be found in the Tauchnitz Edition: *The Frozen Deep and Other Stories*. There is an abstract of it in C. Böttger's dissertation, *Charles Dickens' historischer Roman "A Tale of Two Cities,"* 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Forster's *Life of Dickens*, Bk. IX, ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Ib., VI, ch. 3.

indirectly he was responsible for the figure of Dr. Manette too. For, having definitely chosen the French Revolution as the setting for his plot, he applied, as he himself tells us, to Carlyle for books on the subject and obtained in reply "two cartloads," among which almost certainly was "the curious book printed at Amsterdam," Mercier's *Tableau de Paris*. From it he got not only, what he admits,<sup>5</sup> the material for his evil Marquis, but also, a much more important matter, the suggestion for the whole Dr. Manette story.<sup>6</sup>

For in Mercier will be found an anecdote, told with feeling and vivid detail, of one of the prisoners released from the Bastille by an act of clemency on the accession of Louis XVI, "un vieillard qui, depuis quatre-sept années, gémissait, détenu entre quatre épaisse et froides murailles." "La porte basse de son tombeau tourne sur ses gonds effrayants, s'ouvre, non à demi, comme de coutume, et une voix inconnue lui dit qu'il peut sortir. Il croit que c'est un rêve. Il hésite, il se lève, s'achemine d'un pas tremblant, et s'étonne de l'espace qu'il parcourt. . . . Il s'arrête comme égaré et perdu; ses yeux ont peine à supporter la clarté du grand jour; il regarde le ciel comme un objet nouveau; son œil est fixe; il ne peut pas pleurer. Stupéfait de pouvoir changer de place, ses jambes, malgré lui, demeurent aussi immobiles que sa langue." He is conducted to the street where he had lived; his house is gone, the whole quarter is changed, nobody knows him. His tears and his strange clothing collect a pitying crowd around him. Ultimately an old servant of the family is found, from whom he hears that his wife had died thirty years before of grief and misery, that his children are dispersed in other lands, that his friends are all gone. Overwhelmed with grief, he goes to the minister to whom he owes his release and begs to be returned to his cell. "Separé de la société, je vivois avec moi-même. Ici, je ne puis vivre ni avec moi ni avec les hommes nouveaux, pour qui mon désespoir n'est qu'un rêve." The minister, touched by his unhappy case, puts him in the care of the old servant "qui pouvoit lui parler encore de sa femme et de ses enfants. . . . Il ne voulut point communiquer avec la race nouvelle qu'il n'avoit pas vu naître; il se fit

<sup>5</sup> Forster, IX, chap. 2.

<sup>6</sup> W. Dibelius: *Charles Dickens*. Teubner, 1916, p. 333. Professor Dibelius kindly supplied me with chapter and verse in Mercier.

au milieu de la ville une espèce de retraite non moins solitaire que le cachot qu'il avoit habité près d'un demi-siècle." <sup>7</sup>

Here we have the prototype of Dickens' prisoner of the Bastille, "recalled to life" indeed but bewildered by and incapable of it. Manette too is released on Louis XVI's accession (the action of the novel begins in 1775), his wife is long dead of a broken heart, his daughter is in England, he is tended by his old servant Defarge who provides for him "une espèce de retraite"—his garret.

By what alchemy Dickens metamorphosed this slight story it is needless to say; but its identity in all essentials with his is self-evident.

So much for Mercier. In *The French Revolution* itself however there are two passages which are worth attention in this connection. Carlyle relates how, after the storming of the Bastille, a letter was found written long years before by a wretched prisoner to some monseigneur begging for news of his wife, "were it only her name on a card, to show that she is alive." <sup>8</sup> In *The Tale of Two Cities* just such a pitiful paper is sought for and found at the storming of the Bastille and some lines in it so clearly echo the corresponding words of Carlyle as to leave no doubt regarding cause and effect. I place them side by side:<sup>9</sup>

## CARLYLE

If for my consolation Monseigneur would grant me, for the sake of God and the Most Blessed Trinity, that I could have news of my dear wife; were it only her name on a card, to show that she is alive! It were the greatest consolation I could receive; and I should forever bless the greatness of Monseigneur.

## DICKENS

If it had pleased God to put it into the hard heart of either of the brothers, in all these frightful years, to grant me any tidings of my dearest wife—so much as to let me know by a word whether alive or dead—I might have thought that He had not quite abandoned them.

Bk. III, ch. 10.

The echo is audible enough in the language; there is just as much echo in the incidents.

The other passage in Carlyle is that which tells of Loiserolles' self-sacrifice. "The Tumbrils move on. But in this set of Tum-

<sup>7</sup> Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris*, Amsterdam, 1782, chap. 283.

<sup>8</sup> *The French Revolution*, Vol. I, Bk. v, chap. 7.

<sup>9</sup> As Böttger has done (p. 13) to show Carlyle's general influence, without however attaching any further importance to the passage.

brils there are two other things notable: one notable person; and one want of a notable person. The notable person is Lieutenant-General Loiserolles, a nobleman by birth and by nature; laying down his life here for his son. In the Prison of Saint-Lazare, the night before last, hurrying to the Grate to hear the Death-list read, he caught the name of his son. The son was asleep at the moment. 'I am Loiserolles,' cried the old man; at Tinville's bar, an error in the Christian name is little; small objection was made."<sup>10</sup> Here is a deed which appeals impressively to the imagination and might well recur to Dickens when the idea of self-sacrifice was occupying his mind and he was hunting around for a striking shape to give it. But one must not press conjectures to undemonstrable conclusions; there is here no necessary connection. Let the resemblance stand for what it is worth.

What is submitted here is that Mercier and Carlyle had a more immediate and important share in the invention of Dickens' plot than is commonly supposed. In two if not in all three of the passages mentioned above, they supplied the sparks (though no more) which started Dickens' invention off along the lines it actually took. The evolution seems to me to have been in somewhat the following order. Wilkie Collins' play supplied the germ of Sydney Carton and his heroism; Carlyle suggested the French Revolution as a melodramatic setting; perhaps too the great closing scenes of the prison and guillotine; Mercier gave him the Dr. Manette story, and into this readily fitted the letter episode from Carlyle.

## II

If this be so, it may clear up a mystery which caused considerable controversy at the time. While Dickens' novel was appearing serially in *All The Year Round*, a play called *The Dead Heart* was produced at the Adelphi bearing so startling a resemblance to *A Tale of Two Cities* that the author, Watts Phillips, was charged with plagiarism. Yet it had been written in 1856 and accepted by the Adelphi the same year, long before ever Dickens had so much as thought of his novel. The play, which is difficult to get, is as follows.

<sup>10</sup> *The French Revolution*, Vol. III, bk. vi, chap. 7. This resemblance too is noted by Böttger but relegated to the insignificance of a footnote (p. 20).

In the Prologue, the events of which take place in Paris in 1771, Robert Landry, a young sculptor, is affianced to Catherine Duval, the daughter of a Paris vintner. She is forcibly abducted by the Comte St. Valerie, who contrives to have Landry thrown into the Bastille on a *lettre de cachet*.—The main action begins with the release of Landry at the storming of the Bastille, eighteen years later. (Thus as in Dickens an early wrong, a later consequence, in two separate stories.) Old friends recognize him and the past gradually comes back to his bewildered brain. He hears that Catherine has married St. Valerie, but is now a widow with one son Arthur. He determines to avenge himself on the son. He becomes a deputy of the people, through him Arthur is arrested and condemned to death. The morning of his execution, Catherine gains access to Landry and pleads for her son's life. He remains insensible to her. At the very moment however when the tumbrils are beginning to rumble past the prison, he receives convincing proof that Catherine had loved him all the time and even that St. Valerie had been innocent of the worst of the wrong done to him. He arranges for Arthur's instant flight from Paris and takes Arthur's place in the waiting tumbril. The curtain falls on Landry mounting the scaffold.

Here you have all the impressive paraphernalia of the Terror just as in Dickens; an innocent man flung into the Bastille at the will of an aristocrat; a "dead heart" brought back to life after eighteen years; Nemesis threatening not the wrong-doer himself but his son; the final situation duplicating Dickens in almost every detail. No two stories could well be more similar without being identical and it is no wonder that suspicion fell on Phillips. He retorted by declaring that Dickens was the borrower, having heard the play read aloud by Ben Webster, the manager of the Adelphi, who was a friend of Dickens. The statement wants proof. Mr. Percy Fitzgerald nevertheless goes so far as to allow that Dickens may have been told the plot of the play.<sup>11</sup> But the case is surely explicable otherwise. Phillips admittedly owed, like Dickens, the local colour of his play to Carlyle's book; may he too not have obtained the suggestion for his two main situations (Bastille and guillotine) from it and Mercier's *Tableau*? In other words, Dickens did not borrow from Phillips nor was it a case of mere coincidence; it was

<sup>11</sup> Percy Fitzgerald, *Life of Charles Dickens*, 1905, II, 195-196.

a case of common source. I am not the first to come to this conclusion. Phiz wrote at the time to one of his sons in connection with the novel: "A rather curious thing happened with this book. Watts Phillips, the dramatist, hit upon the very same identical plot; they had evidently been to the same source in Paris for their story."<sup>12</sup> And to Chelsea, I would add.

## III

Another coincidence remains to be pointed out, this time with a greater than Phillips. To most readers one of the most original scenes in all Dickens (as it is certainly one of the most impressive) is, I fancy, that in which the Doctor of Beauvais is summoned at night to attend a dying woman in a mysterious château.<sup>13</sup> Yet that there is nothing new under the sun is shown by the occurrence in the fifth canto of Scott's *Rokeby* of an identical scene.

Edmund's ballad in that canto runs thus:—

"‘And whither would you lead me, then?’  
 Quoth the friar of orders grey;  
 And the ruffians twain replied again,  
 ‘By a dying woman to pray.’

"‘I see,’ he said, ‘a lovely sight,  
 A sight bodes little harm,  
 A lady as a lily bright,  
 With an infant on her arm.’

"‘Then do thine office, friar grey,  
 And see thou shrive her free;  
 Else shall the sprite that parts tonight,  
 Fling all its guilt on thee.’

"The shrift is done, the friar is gone,  
 Blindfolded as he came—  
 Next morning all in Littlecot Hall  
 Were weeping for their dame.”

This ballad, Scott tells us,<sup>14</sup> was founded on a story in Aubrey's

<sup>12</sup> F. G. Kitton, *The Novels of Charles Dickens*, 1897, p. 178. These particulars from Fitzgerald and Kitton I owe to Fräulein Käthe Tamsen of Hamburg University, who kindly copied out extracts from books not obtainable by me in Holland.

<sup>13</sup> *A Tale of Two Cities*, Bk. III, chap. 10.

<sup>14</sup> *The Poetical Works*, Author's Edition, ed. by J. G. Lockhart, 1869. Notes to *Rokeby*, p. 390.

Correspondence to this effect. "Sir —— Dayrell of Littlecote, in Corn. Wilts., having gott his lady's waiting woman with child, when her travell came, sent a servant with a horse for a midwife, whom he was to bring hoodwinked. She was brought, and layd the woman, but as soon as the child was born, she sawe the knight take the child and murther it, and burn it in the fire in the chamber. She having done her businesse was extraordinarily rewarded for her paines, and sent blindfolded away." Having drawn her own conclusions from what she had been permitted to see, she immediately gives information, the deed is traced to Dayrell, and he is brought to trial; the unexpected upshot of which, acquittal through bribery, being the occasion of Aubrey's report.<sup>15</sup> In an Edinburgh tradition (related by Scott in the same long note), the person summoned is a clergyman, and this clergyman it is, Aubrey's midwife not being a sufficiently romantic figure, that Scott introduced, tricked out in a friar's frock, into his ballad. In the tradition, as in the ballad, it is the woman, not the child, who dies.

Here then, in three different stories all antecedent to Dickens, we have his very situation of the midnight call to a bedside, the compromising amour, the beautiful woman on the bed, the tragic close. Did he know any of the three? Who shall say? He knew Scott's writings well for one thing; he was keenly interested in criminal cases such as Aubrey relates, for another. His large library too contained many old authors like Burton and Bacon and Evelyn,<sup>16</sup> so that it is less improbable than one might suppose from Dickens' unscholarly turn of mind, that he had read Aubrey and come across the anecdote there. At any rate Scott's poem with the highly interesting note was accessible to him. Whether he had read the poem or, if he had, was struck by the insignificant ballad sufficiently to consult the note, is a wholly different matter.

And there is another point at which Dickens may have come into contact with the story. Littlecote Hall is not hid away in a hole and corner. The old manor house is visible to this day from the Bath Road two miles from Hungerford and this story of "Wild Darrell," as he was called, was well known in the neighborhood as late at least as the eighties when Outram Tristram wrote

<sup>15</sup> *Ib.*, Scott's note.

<sup>16</sup> For these particulars on Dickens' reading and library, cf. Dibelius, *Charles Dickens*, p. 298.

his *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*. There is no reason why Dickens on one of his numerous journeyings should not have heard the story on the spot. Marlborough Downs close by were evidently known to him, judging by "The Bagman's Story" in *The Pickwick*.<sup>17</sup> He probably passed along the Great Bath Road westward or eastward bound more than once in his restless life and can scarcely have failed to notice the quaint Tudor gables of Littlecote or ask their history. The "haunted room" is still shown at Littlecote, and the country folk still point out the stile where Darrell, having saved his neck from the rope, broke it at length by a fall while riding, his horse having shied violently at a flaming babe in the path! Darrell, it seems, was what we call "a thoroughly bad lot," and notorious for more than the midwife affair. He was "at feud with all his neighbours, accused of one murder, suspected of another, his name a byword for profligacy and something worse";<sup>17a</sup> he ran away with Lady Hungerford, his neighbour's wife, and, what brings us nearer to our story, was reported to have had several children by the sister of one of his servants and to have murdered one of them.<sup>18</sup> Quite a marquis-like figure this! Apart altogether from tradition, there exist, as the letter just quoted shows, authentic documents about the interesting owner of Littlecote, Darrell papers at the Record Office, and the deposition made on her deathbed by Mrs. Barnes the midwife.

Littlecote Hall figures in history just a hundred years after Darrell's time. It was there that William of Orange lay the night after his meeting with King James' commissioners at Hungerford in December, 1688. The fact is thus noted by Macaulay. "He retired to Littlecote Hall, a manor house situated about two miles off, and renowned down to our own times, not more on account of its venerable architecture and furniture than on account of a horrible and mysterious crime which was perpetrated there in the days of the Tudors."<sup>19</sup> Now Macaulay may have learned this story from Scott's note to *Rokeby* which he mentions in a footnote—for the word "renowned" is only Macaulayan hyperbole. In which case Dickens may have learned it there too, perhaps attracted to it

<sup>17</sup> Prof. Dibelius points this out to me.

<sup>17a</sup> Outram Tristram, *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*, p. 46.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from Sir H. Knyvett of Charlton, quoted by Tristram, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> *History of England*, chap. IX. The italics are mine.

by this very passage in Macaulay which is sufficiently striking. Or the story may really have been known to a considerable circle in the world at large, to Scott for example, and why then not to Dickens?

All which goes to show that the sinister scene enacted that wild night in the room at Littlecote was not by any means too obscure for Dickens to stumble across somewhere or somehow in his quest of the sensational. Whether he did or not, the analogy is too curiously close not to be worth noticing.

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### LES SOURCES D'UN POEME DE LECONTE DE LISLE

Dans son étude sur *les Sources de Leconte de Lisle*, Montpellier, 1907, M. Joseph Vianey indique comme source probable du *Calumet du Sachem* (*Poèmes tragiques*, xxxii), le *Voyage pittoresque dans les Grands Déserts du Nouveau Monde* de l'abbé Em. Domenech (Paris, Morizot, s. d.). La préface est datée de 1860, dit M. Vianey. L'édition que j'ai sous les yeux, et qui semble être en tout la même, est datée de 1862.

Les rapprochements indiqués par M. Vianey, *Voyage pittoresque*, ch. xiii, p. 124; ch. xvii, p. 586; ch. xiv, p. 459, sont de valeur inégale. Le premier passage cité renferme des indications assez générales sur le *dolce far niente* cher aux Peaux-Rouges et leur goût pour les rêveries que leur procurent leurs "pipes de stéatite rouge." Le second est une très brève description des idées qu'ont les Indiens sur l'autre vie et pourrait en effet avoir inspiré au moins une strophe du poème, l'avant-dernière. Le troisième, qui contient un tableau très coloré des forêts du Nouveau Monde, mérite d'être étudié dans le détail et nous y reviendrons plus loin.

Disons sans plus attendre, qu'il faut savoir gré à M. Vianey d'avoir le premier signalé l'ouvrage de l'abbé Domenech que Leconte de Lisle a certainement utilisé, dans une plus large mesure même que M. Vianey ne l'a indiqué. Domenech n'est cependant point la seule source du *Calumet du Sachem*. Leconte de Lisle a puisé non pas à une source unique, mais au moins à deux et presque certainement à trois, comme une analyse détaillée du poème nous permettra de le démontrer.

Les deux premières strophes éveillent dans la mémoire un écho familier :

Les cèdres et les pins, les hêtres, les érables,  
Dans leur antique orgueil des siècles respecté,  
Haussent de toutes parts avec rigidité  
La noble ascension de leurs troncs vénérables  
Jusqu'aux dômes feuillus, chauds des feux de l'été.

Sous l'enchevêtrement de leurs vastes ramures  
La terre fait silence aux pieds de ses vieux rois.  
Seuls, au fond des lointains mystérieux, parfois,  
Naissent, croissent, s'en vont, renaissent les murmures  
Que soupire sans fin l'âme immense des bois.

Ce n'est point chez le brave missionnaire qui visita surtout les déserts du Texas que Leconte de Lisle a cette fois trouvé son inspiration, mais simplement dans l'*Evangeline* de Longfellow dont on m'excusera de citer le début pour le lecteur français.

This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks,  
Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight,  
Stand like Druids of old, with voices sad and prophetic,  
Stand like harpers hoar, with beard that rest on their bosoms.  
Loud from its rocky caverns, the deep voiced neighbouring ocean  
Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

Les *Druïds of old* sont devenus les "vieux rois," les arbres sont quelque peu différents, mais le trait final qui donne un accent particulier à tout le passage est le même chez les deux poètes. Le rapprochement est d'autant plus probable qu'à la date où parurent les *Poèmes tragiques* plusieurs traductions d'*Evangeline* avaient été publiées et que le poème de Longfellow était connu et célèbre en France depuis longtemps.

C'est à un passage non moins connu, cette fois d'un grand auteur français, que font penser les strophes suivantes :

Les grands élans, couchés parmi les cyprières,  
Sur leurs dos musculeux renversent leurs cols lourds;  
Les panthères, les loups, les couguars et les ours  
Se sont tapis, repus des chasses meurtrières,  
Au creux des arbres morts et dans les antres sourds.

Ecureuils, perroquets, ramiers à gorge bleue  
Dorment. Les singes noirs, du haut des sassafras,  
Sans remuer leur tête et leurs reins au poil ras,  
A la branche qui ploie appendus par la queue,  
LaisSENT inertement aller leurs maigres bras.

Les crotales lovés sous quelque roche chaude,  
 Attendent une proie errante, et, par moment,  
 De l'ombre où leurs fronts plats s'allongent lentement,  
 Le feu subtil de leurs prunelles d'émeraude  
 Luit, livide, et jaillit dans un pétillement.

Après avoir cité une page de Domenech, ch. xiv, p. 459, M. Vianey ajoute en note: "dans ce dernier passage le voyageur décrit la forêt au moment où les animaux s'agitent et crient, tandis que le poète la décrit au moment où ils sont assoupis; mais c'est la même forêt." Il se peut en effet que Leconte de Lisle ait emprunté quelques traits au voyageur missionnaire; mais plus encore qu'à la forêt de Domenech c'est à la description du Mississippi par laquelle débute *Atala* que font invinciblement penser les strophes que nous venons de citer, et c'est encore plus peut-être à la fuite d'*Atala* et de Chactas dans la forêt: "Des insectes sans nombre, d'énormes chauves-souris nous aveuglaient; les serpents à sonnettes bruissaient de toutes parts, et les loups, les ours, les carcajous, les petits tigres, qui venaient se cacher dans ces retraites les remplissaient de leurs rugissements." Je reconnaiss cependant que ce n'est ni à Chateaubriand ni à Domenech que Leconte de Lisle a emprunté ces "singes noirs" dont la présence est assez surprenante dans une forêt de l'Amérique du Nord et qui remplacent, sans avantage, les fameux ours ivres de raisin que l'on a tant reprochés à l'auteur d'*Atala*. Ni Chateaubriand, ni Domenech ne décrivent en détail l'élan que Leconte de Lisle semble bien avoir peint d'après nature après une promenade dans un jardin zoologique. Mais c'est bien le grand poète de la nature américaine qui a fourni les écureuils, les perroquets, la cyrière, les sassafras, les serpents à sonnettes ennoblis du nom de crotales et les couleurs mêmes dont Leconte de Lisle a garni sa palette.

Par contre, s'il doit peu à l'abbé Domenech pour la partie purement descriptive de son poème, c'est bien à lui que Leconte de Lisle a emprunté le caractère de son héros. Il me paraît s'être surtout servi de deux passages que n'indique pas M. Vianey.

Le vieux sachem, le dernier Sagamore des Florides,  
 ayant vu ses guerriers exilés et chassés par les Blancs,  
 Par delà le grand fleuve où meurent les bisons . . .  
 Est revenu mourir au berceau des aieux.

Il est là, assis contre le tronc d'un sycomore géant, ses armes sur ses genoux, dans toute sa peinture de guerre, une plume d'ara jaune et pourpre au sommet de la tête et pour la dernière fois, fume son calumet, en attendant la mort. Il sait que les fauves de la forêt rôdent autour de lui prêts à se jeter sur lui pour déchirer sa chair, mais il est perdu dans la contemplation du monde où vont les guerriers après leur mort,

Dans les bois où l'esprit des Sachems s'envola  
Et dans la volupté des choses éternelles.  
Vieillent panthères, loups et couguars, le voilà.

Or, l'abbé Domenech, à la fin du chapitre xv, p. 523, mentionne, après beaucoup d'autres d'ailleurs, le fait que "parmi les tribus pauvres du nord-ouest des Etats-Unis, on abandonne les vieillards qui ne peuvent marcher ni monter à cheval, soit à cause de leur âge, soit à cause de leurs infirmités. Dans ces circonstances cruelles, la résignation de ces malheureux est vraiment admirable. . . . Le pauvre délaissé meurt bientôt de faim, et son corps devient la pâture des oiseaux de proie."

Plus frappant encore est l'épisode qui termine le chapitre suivant (ch. xvi, p. 552), dans lequel Domenech raconte comment le chef des Mandans, Mahtotopa, ayant vu disparaître tous les siens à la suite d'une épidémie de petite vérole résolut de ne pas leur survivre :

" Il mit sa coiffure en plumes d'aigle, qui tombait en éventail jusqu'à terre, il se couvrit de son manteau de peau d'hermine doublé de peau de cygne, il prit ses armes autrefois si terribles à ses ennemis, et il s'en alla sur une colline élevée voisine de sa résidence. Du sommet de cette colline il regarda les habitations sans feu de ses compagnons, il considéra les rues et la grande place de son village, aujourd'hui désertes, hier encore si animées. . . . Il pria le Grand-Esprit de le recevoir dans la terre des ombres, dans les prairies enchantées, où il retrouverait ses compagnons d'armes et sa famille bien-aimée. Ses chants et ses pleurs durèrent six jours, pendant lesquels il ne voulut rien manger pour ne pas survivre au désastre de sa nation. Le sixième jour, il commença le chant de mort; enfin la voix de Mahtotopa s'éteignit, ses pleurs se séchèrent, il se sentait défaillir; alors il se traîna péniblement vers sa cabane, s'étendit auprès des cadavres de ses enfants et rendit son dernier soupir, enveloppé des insignes de sa gloire passée."

Il est difficile, ce me semble, de ne pas reconnaître là l'origine des deux strophes suivantes :

Assis contre le tronc géant d'un sycomore,  
 Le cou roide, les yeux clos comme s'il dormait,  
 Une plume d'ara, jaune et pourpre, au sommet  
 Du crâne, le sachem, le dernier Sagamore  
 Des Florides, est là fumant son calumet . . .

Sa hache et son couteau, les armes du vrai brave,  
 Gisent sur ses genoux. Le chef a dénoué  
 Sa ceinture, et, dressant son torse tatoué  
 D'ocre et de vermillon, il fume d'un air grave  
 Sans qu'un pli de sa face austère ait remué.

Pour l'excellente raison que les "aras" ne se trouvent point dans l'Amérique du Nord, Domenech, comme tous les voyageurs, ne fait aucune mention de la plume jaune et rouge que le sachem a fichée dans sa coiffure. Ses Indiens ne se servent guère comme ornements que de plumes d'aigle ou de plumes de corbeau. On peut se demander s'il n'y a pas là encore une influence indirecte de Chateaubriand. Leconte de Lisle ayant, après lui, peuplé sa forêt de perroquets ne s'est guère inquiété ensuite ni de leur taille ni de leur couleur et a attribué aux sortes de petites perruches que l'on trouvait autrefois fréquemment en Floride et dans la vallée du Mississippi la parure éclatante des grands aras de l'Amérique du Sud.<sup>1</sup> Mais ce léger détail mis à part, c'est bien à l'abbé Domenech que Leconte de Lisle doit la donnée première de son poème. Il se peut d'ailleurs, et je serais assez porté à le croire, qu'il ait subi plus ou moins consciemment des influences moins directes. A tout prendre, le thème central du *Calumet du Sachem*, quand on le dépouille de ses broderies exotiques, c'est la mélancolie qui ressort de la triste fin des races indigènes qui erraient librement dans les solitudes du nouveau monde avant l'arrivée des Européens. C'est le sujet du roman de Cooper *The Last of the Mohicans*; c'est encore en un certain sens l'idée qui a inspiré Longfellow dans *Hiawatha* dont Baudelaire dès 1868 avait traduit un fragment sous un titre, *Le calumet de paix*, qui rappelle singulièrement celui du poème de Leconte de Lisle. C'est enfin, si l'on veut remonter à une origine qui pour être plus lointaine n'en est pas moins importante, le thème même que Chateaubriand s'était proposé de traiter dans son épopee des *Natchez*.

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<sup>1</sup> Sur la présence des perroquets dans ces régions on pourra consulter mon volume sur *L'exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand*, Paris, 1918, p. 257.

## A NOTE ON THE COMEDIA CALAMITA OF TORRES NAHARRO

The plot of the *Comedia Calamita*<sup>1</sup> of Torres Naharro is fairly complex, but we can easily distinguish the central theme from the secondary incidents. The main theme is as follows: The young Floribundo falls madly in love with Calamita, a girl of apparently humble condition, and thereby incurs the displeasure of Euticio, Floribundo's father, who believes that his son has fallen into dissolute ways. Floribundo is aided in the prosecution of his suit by his servant Jusquino, who bribes Libina, Calamita's sister-in-law, to allow the lover to enter her house. When the lovers meet, Calamita declares that she will not lose her honor for anything in the world, and that marriage cannot be thought of because of their relative social position. Floribundo replies that he has enough money to compensate for her lack of it, agrees to the condition of marriage, which Calamita imposes, and the young people are betrothed. Euticio becomes very angry on hearing of Floribundo's disobedience, and threatens to take his life. The solution is brought about by the arrival of Trapaneo, an old acquaintance of Euticio, who first declares that he is Calamita's father, and later explains that she is the daughter of a wealthy Sicilian, whom he had saved from death and brought up in his own family as a daughter. Euticio accepts this proof of Calamita's respectability, and gladly consents to her marriage with Floribundo.

Cases of mistaken identity, the correction of which offers a solution of apparently unsurmountable difficulties, were common in Latin comedy. For example, in the *Heautontimorumenos* of Terence, Chremes commands that if his wife is delivered of a girl, the child shall immediately be killed. Having given birth to a girl, Sostrata sends her to an old woman named Philtera to be exposed. Instead of doing this, Philtera brings her up as her own daughter, with the name of Antiphila. Clinia, son of Menedemus, falls in love with her, and Menedemus opposes the youth's love to such a degree that he drives him from home. After a series of incidents which are quite dissimilar from anything in the *Comedia*

<sup>1</sup> The *Comedia Calamita* was probably first published at Seville in 1520, and is included in Menéndez y Pelayo's edition of the *Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, Vols. IX-X of the *Libros de Antaño*, Madrid, 1880-1900.

*Calamita*, the girl's real identity is discovered, and her marriage to Clinia follows as a matter of course. Aside from the incident of a girl baby ordered to be put to death by her father, there is a certain resemblance between Menedemus and Euticio, both fond of their sons, but willing to take extreme measures to prevent them, if possible, from contracting a misalliance.

Still closer is the resemblance of the *Comedia Calamita* to the *Comedia Dolotechne*, composed in Latin in the year 1504 by the Venetian Bartolomeo Zamberti. Sanesi<sup>2</sup> gives the following outline of the plot of the *Comedia Dolotechne*: Policriso, an old man, desires to shield his son Mononio from the dangers of a dissolute life, and plans to arrange for his marriage with a young woman of his own station in life. He charges his servant Sfalero, who is supposed to guide Mononio in the paths of virtue, to persuade him to consent to the marriage. But, contrary to the expectations of the old man, Mononio has already fallen in love with Rodostoma, a young girl who had run away from home and had fallen into the hands of the *ruffiano* Crisofago, a brutal, greedy fellow, who is willing to turn her over to the highest bidder. His wife, Merofila, succeeds in protecting her in the hope of disposing of her at a high price, which the *ruffiano* has fixed at 300 minæ. Merofila hears from Rodostoma the confession of her love for Mononio, and learns from the latter that he is enamored with Rodostoma. She declares that, if Mononio pays the 300 minæ, Rodostoma will be his. The youth has no money, but Sfalero secures it from an old woman, Bdeliria, on a false promise that his master will return her love. Rodostoma then comes into the possession of Mononio, whose father bitterly reproaches him when he presents himself with his bride, and severely punishes Sfalero for his part in the affair. An old friend of Policriso, named Alitologo, then appears, who has spent years in search of his daughter who had been stolen from him. He recognizes in Rodostoma his daughter, and the two fathers gladly consent to the wedding.

Without the text of the *Comedia Dolotechne*, it is impossible to speak with certainty regarding the relationship between these two plays, but they offer a striking resemblance even in this meager outline. The fathers Policriso and Alitologo correspond to Euticio and Trapaneo (except that Trapaneo has only acted as Calamita's father); the two young men are not dissolute, their disobedience

<sup>2</sup> Ireneo Sanesi, *La Commedia*, Milan, 1911, I, 127-129.

is caused by a genuine passion; the intrigue is conceived and executed by the servants Sfalero and Jusquino, although the expedient by which the former obtains money to carry out his plan is not found in Naharro's play; both Rodostoma and Calamita have remained pure in spite of their environment, although the latter seems to have possessed more nobility of character; a happy dénouement is brought about by evidence of mistaken identity. The chief difference between the two plays lies in the characters of the man and wife with whom the heroine is living, namely, Crisofago and Merifila and Torcazo and Libina.

Torcazo is the type of complacent husband, easily imposed upon by his wife and others, which appears frequently in early Italian *novelle* and jest books. He offers many points of resemblance with Boccaccio's Calandrino and with Martín de Villalba in Lope de Rueda's *Tercer Paso*. His wife, Libina, is keenly conscious of her husband's stupidity, and does not hesitate to deceive him by admitting into her house a young student disguised as a woman. Jusquino finds that she is quite ready to encourage the suit of Floribundo in return for substantial payment in money. Torcazo also recalls Calandro in *La Calandria* (1513) of Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, and it has been pointed out<sup>3</sup> that Jusquino's instructions to Torcazo how to feign death, in the fifth act of *Calamita*, are derived from the ninth scene of the second act of *La Calandria*. While the setting of the two incidents differs somewhat, there is a verbal similarity which makes it more than probable that Torres Naharro borrowed the scene from the Italian dramatist. Furthermore, the second scene of the first act of *La Calandria*, in which Polinico reproves Fesserio for encouraging the disobedience and misconduct of Lidio, reminds us of the scene in the third act of *Calamita*, in which Fileo holds Jusquino responsible for the waywardness of Floribundo. The disguise adopted by Lidio in order to enter the house of Fulvia, Calandro's wife, recalls the intrigue by means of which the young student gains admission into the house of Toreazo, and in both cases the husband falls in love with his betrayer. Since *La Calandria* was not published until 1521, it is probable that Torres Naharro witnessed its performance in 1513, and incorporated some of the incidents from memory into his own *Calamita*.

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\* Francesco Flamini, *Il Cinquecento*, Milan, p. 317.

## MILTON'S PART IN *THEATRUM POETARUM*

In the closing paragraph of the essay prefixed to *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* Edward Philips, the nephew of Milton, apologizes for his occasional disagreement with "received opinion," on the ground that such divergence comes about not "out of affectation of singularity, but from a different apprehension, which a strict inquiry into the truth of things . . . hath suggested to my reason." Another explanation, however, has been very generally advanced to account for the compiler's seeming independence of judgment. Philips is said to have incorporated his uncle's opinions not only in the body of his work, where he briefly characterizes the various writers, but also in the critical preface, which contains much that is sound and uplifting. The general belief, since Warton's day, is that the whole tone of the Preface is noticeably higher than the ordinary level of Philips's mental power.<sup>1</sup>

It is only natural that certain phrases in the Preface should call to the reader's mind corresponding thoughts in Milton's writings. At the beginning of the essay, Philips, with a marked air of superiority, calls attention to the disparity between men—"how aspiring to the Perfection of knowledge the one, how immers't in swinish sloth and ignorance the other." These words suggest the Attendant Spirit's first speech in *Comus*. Immediately, Philips proceeds to speak of "the vulgar Multitude," those "who live Sardinapalian lives, . . . not caring to understand ought beyond to eat, drink, and play." Had the writer before him these lines from the second epic (*P. R.* 3, 49-51) :

What the people but a herd confused,  
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol  
Things vulgar, and, well weighed, scarce worth the praise?

Again, Philips seems to appreciate, as Milton did, the dignity of authorship. In offering his plea for "the well meaners only" in literature, Philips reminds us that the author of any "Poetical

<sup>1</sup> See T. Warton, *Poems*, ed. 1785, p. 60, and *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, III, p. 356; and N. Drake, *Essays . . . illustrative of the Spectator*, 1814, II, p. 135.

Volume, be it never so small," is put to "the double expence of Brain to bring it forth and of purse to publish it to the world," and that "no Man designs to writ ill." This may seem only a faint echo of two fine passages of *Areopagitica*, one beginning, "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit," and the other, "When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him." Other such correspondences in thought may easily be found, and the weight that they carry will depend altogether on the reader's habits of mind.

Much more suggestive of the younger writer's dependence on the older are some of the definite critical dicta expounded in the Preface. Philips's veneration for antiquity, at a time when "nothing, it seems, relishes so well as what is written in the smooth style of our present Language," was not uncommon among critics at the Restoration. The same may be said of his respect for modern Italian poetry; of his belief that pastoral poetry "treats oft times of higher matters, thought convenient to be spoken of rather mysteriously and obscurely then in plain tearmes"; and of the idea that the epic handles "a brief, obscure, or remote Tradition, but of some remarkable piece of story, in which the Poet hath an ample feild to inlarge by feigning of probable circumstances." All such dicta, as well as his handy use of metrical terms, Philips, after the manner of Dick Minim, could have acquired from the daily talk of London wits as well as from his uncle. The same, finally, could be said of the more significant declaration that poetry is "a Science certainly of all others the most noble and exalted, and not unworthily tearmed Divine, since the height of Poetical rapture hath ever been accounted little less than Divine Inspiration."

Other opinions, however, advanced in the Preface bear more conspicuously the peculiar stamp of Milton's mind. Philips favors, though not dogmatically, the revival of the chorus and the observance of the unities in modern tragedy. He expresses, too, a dislike for rhyme that his age did not share. "If the Style be elegant and suitable," he wrote, "the Verse, whatever it is, may be better dispenc't with; and the truth is the use of Measure alone without any Rime at all would give far more ample Scope and liberty both to Style and fancy than can possibly be observed in Rime, as evidently appears from an English Heroic poem which came forth not many years ago." This allusion, however, to *Para-*

*dise Lost* may simply indicate that Philips's opinions were derived from a reverent reading of his uncle's work rather than from a recollection of his spoken words.

Such a deduction would leave opportunity in the Preface for the inclusion of thoughts distinctly characteristic of the later day. In one place, Philips supports an argument with an analogy drawn from "history-painting," which the age of Shaftesbury was greatly concerned with, and which Milton, as far as one knows, cared nothing for. One suspects, also, that Philips had never heard his uncle allude to the "Rustie, obsolete words" of Spenser and his "rough-hewn clowterly Verses," or make so much of Shakespeare's "unfiled expressions, his rambling and indigested Fancys, the laughter of the critical." All this is the current opinion of the London coffee-houses, not of the blind scholar's quiet home in Artillery Walk.

The Preface, therefore, in our judgment shows no clear evidence of Milton's personal guidance, though it may reveal, here and there, the influence on its author of Milton's published works. Equally indecisive are the estimates that the compiler gives, in the body of his work, of individual writers. Cowley is praised as "the most applauded Poet of our nation both of the present and past Ages." Spenser's *Faery Queene* is "for great Invention and Poetic heighth judg'd little inferiour, if not equal to the chief of the ancient Greeks and Latins or Modern Italians." Edmund Waller, Milton's supposed benefactor, is mentioned for "the charming sweetness of his Lyric Odes or amorous Sonnets long since wedded to the no less charming Notes of H. Laws, at that time the Prince of Musical Composers." The poem by Erycus Puteanus that introduces Comus is not mentioned with other of his works. Francis Quarles is dismissed as "the darling of our Plebeian Judgments." Chaucer is called "the Prince and Coryphoeus; generally so reputed, till this Age, of our English Poets." To this item Philips adds that the story of Cambuscan "is said to be compleat in Arundel-house Library." William Drummond, whose works Philips had edited, wrote, he says, "to my thinking, in a style sufficiently smooth and delightful; and therefore why so utterly disregarded, and layd aside at present, I leave to the more curious palats in Poetry." William Shakespeare, "the Glory of the English Stage," "pleaseth with a certain wild and native Elegance; and in all his Writings hath an unvulgar style." Ben-

jamin Johnson (sic) lacked Shakespeare's genius, but "his own proper Industry and Addiction to Books advancet him to this perfection." Marlowe is termed "a kind of second Shakespeare, not only because of his plays, especially *Dr. Faustus*, but because of "his begun poem of *Hero and Leander*." Finally, to cite only one more of the interesting items from this compilation, certain English authoresses, among them Mrs. Behn, are noticed in an appendix.

No reader of Milton can glance over the pages of *Theatrum Poetarum* without having his attention arrested more than once by such judgments as these. The words on Shakespeare and Jonson carry their reminders of *L'Allegro*. No one of the criticisms, though, is more in accord with Milton's prejudices than that of John Cleveland, whose "Conceits were out of the common road, and Wittily far fetch't." Those who for that quality esteem him the best of English poets may hold their opinion, Philips half cynically remarks, "provided it be made no Article of Faith." Apparently, he retained some of his uncle's prejudice against

Those new-fangled toys, and trimming slight  
Which takes our late fantasies with delight.

But who can say that Philips's judgment here or elsewhere was determined by what Milton had told him? Would Milton, for example, have included these women in the Hall of Fame? Much, indeed, in Philips's work belongs, we suspect, exclusively to him and his age. Frequently, we admit, Philips shows real taste in his judgments, and stands sometimes at variance with the ruling fashion of his time. Nevertheless, he should be allowed that much originality, and what he says that is sound should be credited to him. It may seem, then, that Thomas Warton spoke without warrant when he said: "There is good reason to suppose that Milton threw many additions and corrections into the *Theatrum Poetarum*."

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#### A NOTE ON CANT

The *New English Dictionary* gives the following derivation for "cant":

This and its accompanying vb. presumably represent L. *cant-us* singing, song, chant (Pr. and NFr. *Cant*, Fr. *Chant*), *canta-re* NFr. *canter*) to sing, chant; but the details of the derivation and development of sense are unknown, . . . or the word may have been actually made from Lat. or Romanic in the rogues' jargon of the time. The subsequent development assumed in the arrangement of the verb is quite natural, though not actually established. Some have however conjectured that *cant* is the Irish and Gaelic *cainnt*, . . . 'language.' And as early as 1711 the word was asserted to be derived from the name of Andrew Cant or his son Alexander Cant, Presbyterian ministers of the 17th c. This perhaps means that the surname of the two Cants was occasionally associated derisively with canting. The arrangement of the sb. here is tentative, and founded mainly on that of the vb., which appears on the whole earlier.

Other late dictionaries derive the word from the Latin *canta-re*, and give no heed to the suggestion that the proper name Cant has had any influence in the development of the word.<sup>1</sup> In earlier discussions of the word's origin any connection with the Presbyterian ministers is either denied or else designated as 'whimsical' or 'groundless.'<sup>2</sup> The connection made in 1711 between the common noun and the name of the two ministers is to be found in the *Spectator*, in a paper written by Steele.<sup>3</sup> The passage reads:

This Indifference seems to me to arise from the Endeavour of avoiding the imputation of Cant, and the false notion of it. It will be proper therefore to trace the Original and Signification of

<sup>1</sup> See the recent editions of *Webster's*, the *Century*, and the *Standard Dictionaries*.

<sup>2</sup> See Blaikie's article on Andrew Cant, *D. N. B.* iii, 898; J. Jamieson's *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, ed. 1779 s. v. *cant*; *The Spectator*, ed. Morley, p. 218; Farmer and Henry, *Slang and its Analogues*, ii, s. v. *cant*. The earlier lexicographers are content to derive the word from *canta-re*. See the dictionaries of Johnson, of Phillips, and of Bailey, among others.

<sup>3</sup> *Spectator*, no. 147, Saturday, August 18, 1711.

this Word. Cant is, by some People, derived from one *Andrew Cant* who, they say, was a Presbyterian Minister in some Illiterate part of Scotland, who by Exercise and Use had obtained the Faculty, alias Gift, of Talking in the Pulpit in such a Dialect, that it's said he was understood by none but his own Congregation, and not by all of them. Since *Mas. Cant's* time, it has been understood in a larger Sense, and signifies all sudden Exclamations, Whinings, unusual Tones, and in fine all Praying and Preaching like the unlearned of the Presbyterians.

According to Steele, the primary meaning of Cant was an intentionally obscure dialect, not understood by all of the minister's congregation, indeed. It has not been pointed out, I believe, that Steele's view had been anticipated by Thomas Blount, at least as early as 1670, when the third edition of Blount's *Glossographia* was published. Blount had written that "Canting, is an affected peculiar kinde of speech used by some people, whereby they may understand themselves, yet not be understood by others, and is said to have taken origin from Mr. *Andrew Cant*, a noted Presbyterish Minister of *Scotland*, who lived in the last Age, and was well gifted herein."<sup>4</sup>

As early as 1661 there had appeared in the two official English newspapers, the *Kingdomes Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus*, and in the Edinburgh reprint of these,<sup>5</sup> a news item which gives yet another twist to the word's derivation and meaning. The passage reads:

Mr. *Alexander Cant* son to Mr. *Andrew Cant* (who in his discourse, *De Excommunicato trucidando*, maintain'd that all Refusers of the *Covenant* ought to be excommunicated, and that all so excommunicated, might lawfully be kill'd) was lately depos'd by the Synod for divers seditious and impudent passages in his Sermons at several places, as, at the Pulpit of *Banchry*:

*If ever the King made a good pudding he would eat the prick of it:*

*That whoever would own or make use of a Service-Book, King, Nobleman, or Minister, the curse of God should be upon him;*

*In his Grace after meat, he praid for those Phanatiques, and*

<sup>4</sup> *Glossographia*, ed. 1670, p. 101. The first edition was in 1656, but the 1670 edition is the earliest accessible in this country.

<sup>5</sup> *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 9, p. 144; 25 February-4 March, 1661; *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 9, pp. 132-133; *Mercurius Publicus*, Edinburgh reprint, 28 February, 1661.

Seditious Ministers, (who are now secured) <sup>6</sup> in these words, *The Lord pity and deliver the precious Prisoners who are now suffering for the Truth, and close up the mouths of the Edomites, who are now rejoicing*, with several other Articles too long to recite.

From these two *Cants*, (*Andrew and Alexander*) all seditious praying and preaching in *Scotland* is called canting.

That is to say, within ten years the two Cants had been credited with the origin of the word *canting* in two separate senses, "seditious praying and preaching," and a peculiar form of speech understood by a limited audience. The confusion is cleared up a little by an explanation of the established uses of *cant* before 1660. The earliest connection of *cant* with any form of speech was in regard to the curious language used by the rogues and vagabonds. As early as 1567 Harmon wrote, in his *Caveat for Cursitors*,<sup>7</sup> "Here I set before the good Reader the leud, lousey language of these lewtering Luskes and lasy Lorrels, . . . Whyche language they terme Peddelars Frenche, a vnknownen toung onely, but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggers, and vaine Vacabondes." Harmon glosses "to cante" as simply "to speake."<sup>8</sup> In 1586 William Harrison wrote that the vagabonds "haue deuised a language amoung themselues, which they name *Canting* (but other pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to understand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a iust reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession."<sup>9</sup> Dekker referred frequently to the 'canting language' of the rogues, "which none but themselues should vnderstand,"<sup>10</sup> and thought the word "derived from the latine *verbe* (*canto*)."<sup>11</sup> Clearly one does not need to seek further for the source of Blount's

<sup>6</sup> These were the "Fifth Monarchy" men.

<sup>7</sup> See the reprint by Viles and Furnivall, *Early English Text Society*, Extra series 9, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in E. E. T. S. Extra Series, no. 9, p. xii.

<sup>10</sup> The Bel-man of London, 1608; Lanthorne and Candle-light, or, the Bell-mans second Nights-walke, 1609; English Villanies seven severall Times prest to Death by the Printers, 1638. See *The Non-dramatic Works of Dekker*, ed. Grosart, 1885, iii, 84, 193-4.

<sup>11</sup> *Non-dramatic Works*, iii, 194.

and Steele's notion that our 'Presbyterish ministers' spoke in a language intelligible to only a few.

So far as their idea is concerned, it seems obvious enough that, instead of the two Cants having had any influence on the meaning of *cant*, the word, in a perfectly established sense, was applied to their unintelligible manner of preaching. We have still, however, to account for the news item, and for the additional meaning of insincere and hypocritical speech, which was first applied to *cant* in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The item in question appeared while both the Cants were alive, and, as we shall see presently, well known. The two official newspapers in London, although issued on different days of the week, generally contained identically the same material, and the Edinburgh edition of *Mercurius Publicus* was merely a reprint of the London edition. Hence there is nothing remarkable in the appearance of the same article in three separate newsbooks in the same week. One point needs emphasis; the newsbooks were under somewhat rigid governmental control, and naturally expressed the proper political and religious opinions.

It is almost certain that the item was written somewhere in Scotland by an established correspondent of the official newspapers. Presumably the correspondent was reporting a local opinion, when he wrote that "From these two *Cants*—all seditious praying and preaching in *Scotland* is called canting." To the loyal correspondent, "seditious praying and preaching" would, of course, be a more deadly sin than a hypocritical voice or expression, and the ideas attributed to the Cants were certainly seditious in 1661. It is by no means unusual, however, among simple-minded folk, to characterize any difference of opinion as necessarily insincere, so that the word *sedulous* might in fact include a connotation of hypocrisy. At any rate, it is clear that popular etymology connected the names of the two ministers with some objectionable fashion of preaching.

Furthermore, this connection was given public utterance very shortly after the earliest recorded use of *cant* in respect to religious matters. In 1659, the Presbyterians, it was said, made "an insipid, tedious, and immethodical prayer, in phrases and a tone so affected and mysterious that they give it the name of canting: a term by which they usually express the gibberish of beggars and

vagabonds.”<sup>12</sup> Here is, of course, a mingling of the ideas of obscurity and affectation. The following passage from a newsbook of 1661 seems to have escaped attention, and is certainly of some bearing. The journalist wrote of the “bloody Phanaticks—who, in their hypocritical canting *Sermons* and *Declarations* speak much of *Mercy* and *tender bowels*, at that very time when they were harnessing themselves to murther us in our Beds.”<sup>13</sup> In this same paper there appeared six weeks later the article already quoted, equating “seditious praying and preaching,” and “canting.” It is possible that the same correspondent wrote both accounts. Additional evidence that the application of canting to the speech of the clergy came after 1650 is found in another newsbook, this time a Royalist one, the *Mercurius Rusticus*, which appeared first in 1643, and was reprinted as a volume in 1647 and again in 1685. A quotation from one of Dr. Featly’s sermons was printed in the 1685 edition as follows: “Thou givest thy mouth to lying, and thy Tongue frameth deceit. Thou sittest and speakest against thy Brother, and slanderest thine own Mothers son. *For is not this their canting language?* The Prelates of *England* are all Antichristian; The Ministers *Baals Priests*.<sup>14</sup> In the 1647 edition the line reads, “For is not this their chanting Language.”<sup>15</sup> Unless this be regarded as a printer’s error, and therefore fortuitous, it would seem to indicate that by 1685 canting was a well recognized term to apply to preachers whose utterances were hypocritical, extravagant, or seditious.

The question now arises, did the extension of meaning of the word cant from a secret language (Peddlars’ French) to seditious, insincere, and hypocritical speech, owe anything to the Scotch clergymen whose names were curiously connected with it by popular repute? It must be reiterated that this connection was actually made in print in 1661, within two years of the earliest recorded use of cant in the sense of religious hypocrisy, but at a time when such use was apparently fast coming in. Now the two Cants, and especially the elder, were famous men in their day, were both min-

<sup>12</sup> N. E. D. s. v. canting. Quoted from a *Character of England*, in Harl. Misc. x, 191.

<sup>13</sup> *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 2, p. 17; 10-17 January 1661.

<sup>14</sup> *Mercurius Rusticus*, no. xviii, p. 195, ed. 1685.

<sup>15</sup> *Mercurius Rusticus*, no. xviii, p. 168, ed. 1647.

isters, and gave utterance to certain ideas in terms which today would be best described as cant of the most rabid variety. These factors are all pertinent. Had they been obscure men, it is unlikely that any such connection would ever have been made. The fact that they were ministers would make such an extension of meaning the more likely, since religious hypocrisy is probably of wider occurrence than any other variety. Since some of their ideas were irrationally narrow and extreme, it is not difficult to find a logical connection between the men themselves and the generally accepted notion conveyed by the word *canting*.

Andrew Cant's career has been fairly well given elsewhere,<sup>16</sup> and only the essentials are required here. He was born in 1584, was educated at Aberdeen, and for a time taught Latin. In 1614 he was promoted to a benefice. In 1621 he received the popular vote for Minister of Edinburgh, but it was reported, "as from the Bishop, that the King would not be content; because he had heard of his seditious Sermons."<sup>17</sup> In 1623 another movement to put Cant into the Edinburgh pulpit failed, again on account of pressure from the higher authorities, in spite of the protests of the people. A year later the King requested the Bishop of St. Andrews "to take order with three Ministers that were most earnest against" certain excommunicants, and Andrew Cant was one of the three.

He was inducted minister of Aberdeen in 1641, where he promptly began a crusade against the vices of his people, denouncing private baptism, tolling the bell at funerals, eating beef at Easter, and especially making merry at Christmas. He instituted lectures on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, from which "no honest person durst be absent but were rebuked and cried out against." On the frequent fast-days from eight to twelve hours were occupied in public worship, and to enforce the abstinence of his parishioners, he appointed certain pious members to search all kitchens. Some of his flock murmured, saying that because "Mr. Andrew spake against Yule, he spake like an old fool."

He achieved prominence among the Puritans in Charles the

<sup>16</sup> See the article in *D. N. B.*, and that by Joseph Robertson, in *Deliciae Literariae*, pp. 17-27. (London, 1840.)

<sup>17</sup> David Calderwood, *The True History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 788.

First's time, and seems to have been the most active partisan of the Covenant in the North of Scotland.

From Dickson, Henderson, and Cant,  
Apostles of the Covenant,  
Almighty God deliver us.<sup>19</sup>

reads a burlesque litany of those times. He was also the hero of a curious song, "The Guise of Tyrie,"<sup>20</sup> in which he figured as "bobbing Andrew." There is a legend that Cant, always severely opposed to anything that smacked of Popery, once requested his landlord to remove from his room pictures of some Catholic Saints. "St. Peter was removed, and Cant's picture put in its place, with the following lines:

Come down, St. Peter,  
Ye superstitious saint,  
And let up your better—  
Mr. Andrew Cant.<sup>21</sup>

He preached frequently before the Scottish Parliament; for example, six times between the 7th of December, 1645, and the following February.<sup>22</sup> In 1648 a pamphlet attributed to him was published, in which it was argued that those who failed to subscribe to the Covenant were excommunicated, and might lawfully be killed. He was one of the five leaders of the General Assembly in 1649, and in the next year was Moderator of that body. That his influence was a powerful one cannot be doubted, since both English and Scottish authorities went out of their way to placate him.<sup>23</sup> He died in 1663, in his seventy-ninth year, having given up his church a year or so earlier on account of charges of seditious speech, "and for denouncing *anathemas* and *imprecations* against many of his congregation, in the course of performing his religious duties."<sup>24</sup> His highly eulogistic epitaph should not be taken as entirely repre-

<sup>19</sup> *Third Book of Scottish Pasquils*, Edinburgh, 1828, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup> Buchan inserted this in his *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, i, 226.

<sup>21</sup> Buchan, i, 318.

<sup>22</sup> Sir James Balfour, *The Annals of Scotland*, iii, 326 and *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> See Bulstrode Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 493 (London, 1682), and Balfour's *Annales*, iv, 161.

<sup>24</sup> Chambers' *Biographical Dictionary*, i, 495, (ed. 1840) and F. W. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, part vi, p. 463.

sentative of public opinion, since he was called a "most fiery and intolerant bigot."<sup>24</sup>

It is interesting, too, to note that no other Scotch clergyman of the Civil War period was so well advertised in the English newspapers. In 1646 the *Perfect Diurnall* reported that His Majesty, then at Newcastle, had been visited by three Scotch ministers, come "to satisfie his scruple of conscience about taking the Covenant." Cant's name was the first of the three.<sup>25</sup> The same newspaper a year later gave an account of a duel caused by "a passage in Mr. Andrew Cants Sermon."<sup>26</sup> In 1652 Cant's "buttoned Cassock and Buckie Ruff" caused him to be attacked in the English newspapers for secretly leaning toward the Church of Rome.<sup>27</sup> The Scotch correspondent a little later complained of the "unlimited power of Cardinall Cant; who though he hath left off the wearing of his button'd Coat (consisting of 36 Dozen) wherein he thought to have Crowned the King, as his predecessors the priests did, yet he wears his Ruff still, looking in it (in a Pulpit) as Puss in Majesty."<sup>28</sup> Ambition and pride, thought the journalist, were Cant's "two inherent sins." In 1662 Alexander Cant was mentioned as "son to the notorious Mr. Andrew Cant."<sup>29</sup> These references are enough to show in what fashion Cant's name came before the English people, but they are by no means exhaustive, as a very superficial search of some of the Civil War newsbooks revealed a dozen more.<sup>30</sup> While the younger Cant received nothing like the publicity given to his father, yet he too was notorious in 1661 and 1662 on account of his failing to take the Oath of Allegiance.<sup>31</sup> Certainly in both character and reputation the two Cants could

<sup>24</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, v, 337-8, 16 April, 1870.

<sup>25</sup> *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 164, p. 1317; 14-21 Sept. 1646.

<sup>26</sup> *A Perfect Diurnall*, no. 243, p. 1955; 20-27 March, 1648.

<sup>27</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 111, p. 1613-14, 19-26 Jan. 1651/2.

<sup>28</sup> *Perfect Diurnall*, no. 118, p. 1731, 8-15 March 1651/2.

<sup>29</sup> *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 51, p. 882; 15-22 Dec. 1662.

<sup>30</sup> See *The Perfect Diurnall*, no. 174, p. 2619, 28 Mch.-4 April 1652; no. 140, p. 2080, 9-16 Aug. 1652; no. 118, p. 1732, 8-15 Mch. 1651/2; no. 130, p. 1922, 31 May-7 June 1652; no. 138, p. 2049-59, 26 July-2 Aug. 1652; no. 69, p. 933, 31 Mch.-7 Apr. 1651. *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 22, p. 366, 2-9 June, 1662; no. 10, p. 158, 4-11 Mch. 1660; no. 35, p. 552, 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1661.

<sup>31</sup> *Kingdomes Intelligencer*, no. 35, p. 552, 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1661; no. 51, p. 882, 15-22 Dec. 1662; no. 9, p. 144, 25 Feb.-4 Mch. 1661.

scarcely be better fitted to influence in some degree the extension of the word *canting*.

It is instructive to note in what variations the newspaper item turned up in the course of years. "From these two *Cants* (*Andrew* and *Alexander*)," read the original notice, "all seditious praying and preaching in *Scotland* is called *Canting*." The shift made by Blount, and later by Steele, has already been noted. Pennant, writing in 1775, thought that "Andrew canted no more than the rest of his brethren, for he lived in a whining age."<sup>32</sup> In 1859 the two Cants were referred to as "Oliver and Ezekiel."<sup>33</sup> The news item of 1661 was reprinted *verbatim* in 1854, but since the last sentence, "From these two Cants," &c., somehow escaped inclusion in the quotation, and appeared simply as an observation of the nineteenth century contributor instead of the seventeenth century reporter, it received no attention.<sup>34</sup> Twice in the eighteenth century the quotation was correctly given, both times by Zachary Gray,<sup>35</sup> but in obscure footnotes, so that it is not surprising to find stated in the *New English Dictionary* that "as early as 1711 the word was asserted to be derived from the name of Andrew Cant."

From this investigation the following facts emerge. First, a word *cant*, of uncertain origin, was applied to the secret language of the vagabonds in the middle of the sixteenth century. Secondly, about a hundred years later, *cant* was used in reference to some objectionable forms of praying or preaching. In the third place, in 1661 there found its way into print a popular belief that the two Scotch ministers named *Cant* were in some fashion the cause of this new word or meaning. Fourthly, these two men possessed qualities which were at all events eminently suited to influence the meaning of a word already known. These are all demonstrable facts, from which one is tempted to infer that the Scotch divines actually did influence the meaning of the word. But I shall content myself with a suggestion from William Bates, who wrote in 1870, with something less than the customary caution of philolo-

<sup>32</sup> *Tour in Scotland*, i, 122.

<sup>33</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vii, 157-8, 19 Feb. 1859.

<sup>34</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, ix, p. 103 (1854).

<sup>35</sup> See Gray's edition of *Hudibras*, ii, 289 (London, 1764); and his *Impartial Examination of the fourth Volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans*, p. 126 (London, 1739).

gians, "I think it not improbable that the word is derivable from two distinct sources, and that in its earlier meaning it has been supplanted by the one derived from the name of the Scottish Presbyterian." <sup>56</sup>

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'PRIDE' IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for April, 1920, Mr. Lucius W. Elder has published a contribution to a type of study which one could wish to see more pursued among us—a study which takes as the ultimate units to which its analysis is to be applied neither individual authors or schools nor literary *genres*, but individual *ideas*, and endeavors to clarify the meaning of each of the fashionable or ruling conceptions, categories, presuppositions, or logical motifs of a period, to discover the reasons for its vogue, to exhibit its interweaving and interaction with other ideas, and to trace its historic workings, not only in the reflection but also in the taste, the practice, and the social movements of the age in which it flourished. Mr. Elder notes that satirists and moralizing writers in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries were a good deal preoccupied with a vice which they called "pride," and were given to denouncing this with peculiar vehemence. He therefore inquires into the meaning of this notion, and "its basis and analogue in the speculative theory of the Enlightenment." Mr. Elder has interestingly brought together from a number of eighteenth-century writers material bearing upon this question, and his study will be of use to students of the thought of that period. He has, however, as it seems to me, omitted certain of the most important aspects of the subject; and there is room for dissent from his general conclusions.

Mr. Elder, I think, hardly sufficiently remarks that the pride to which such a typical writer as Pope most frequently refers, in the *Essay on Man*, is not primarily the pride of the individual human creature comparing himself with others of his species, but the generic pride of man as such. The featherless biped, it was observed, has a strange tendency to put himself in the centre of

<sup>56</sup> *Notes and Queries, 4th Series*, v, 472, 14 May 1870.

creation, to suppose himself separated by a vast gap from all other and 'irrational' creatures, to credit himself with the possession of virtues of which he is inherently incapable, and to attempt tasks, especially intellectual tasks, which he has in reality no power to accomplish. A sense of the dignity and importance of the *genus homo* had been fostered by the medieval Christian view of man's place in the universe. Though the Church had bidden the individual man walk humbly with his God, and had dwelt upon the inner corruption of unregenerate human nature, it had nevertheless put before mankind a picture of both the physical and the moral order profoundly flattering to men's racial self-esteem. Around man's planet all the unpeopled spheres revolved; upon that planet he reigned supreme over the brute creation, infinitely removed in dignity from even the highest animals by his sole participation in the intellectual light of the Divine Reason; upon the acts of will of individual men inexpressibly momentous issues depended; and the good which man was capable of attaining immeasurably transcended all that could be experienced in this sublunar world of matter and sense. The first blow to this flattering view was, of course, the overthrow of the geocentric astronomy. But there were certain ideas especially current in (though not original with) the eighteenth century which had a similar tendency.

1. The first of these was among the most characteristic and influential of all eighteenth-century ideas—though you may read many books on the philosophy and literature of that period without ever guessing the fact. I refer to the so-called 'principle of continuity'<sup>1</sup> (*lex continui*), the conception of the "Great Chain of Being." According to this principle, the world is necessarily a *plenum formarum*, a system

'Where all must full or not coherent be,  
And all that rises, rise in due degree;

in other words, every logically possible kind of being, through all the infinite graded scale of conceivable 'natures' between Deity and nonentity, must actually exist; and between any two adjacent 'links' in the chain there can be only infinitesimal differences.

<sup>1</sup>The writer has in preparation a study of the place and manifold ramifications of this conception in eighteenth-century literature, science and philosophy.

One of the principal events in European thought in the eighteenth century was the rapid growth of a tendency towards a deliquescence of all sharp distinctions, resulting from the introduction of this assumption that all things must be regarded as parts of a qualitative continuum—the assumption embodied in the maxim *Natura non facit saltus*. Since all gaps thus disappeared from nature, there could be none between man and the other animals. He could differ from them only in degree, and from the higher animals in an almost insensible degree, and only with respect to certain attributes.<sup>2</sup> No link in the Chain of Being, moreover, is more essential than another, or exists merely for the sake of another. The lower creatures are no more means to the convenience of man than he is a means to their convenience.<sup>3</sup> Thus, so long as man remained normal, *i. e.*, in the State of Nature, he assumed no grand airs of superiority to the creatures of the field and wood:

Pride then was not; nor arts that pride to aid;  
Man walked with beast joint-tenant of the shade.<sup>4</sup>

In its most significant aspect, then, 'pride' gets its meaning for eighteenth-century thought from this group of conceptions. It is, in Pope's words, the "sin against the laws of order," *i. e.*, of gradation; it is the vice which causes man to set up pretensions to a place higher in the Scale of Being than belongs to him.

Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes,  
Men would be angels, angels would be gods.

The virtue which is its opposite lies in a contented recognition of the limitations of the human lot and the littleness of man's powers;

The bliss of man (could pride that blessing find)  
Is not to act or think beyond mankind.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Essay on Man*, I, 173 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, III, 22-70, I, 53-68; cf. Voltaire, *Discours sur l'homme*, VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Essay on Man*, III, 151-2. Pope's lines are the probable source of Rousseau's remark, in his second *Discours*, that man's emergence from the pure state of nature began with his invention of certain practical arts, which was followed by "le premier mouvement d'orgueil," in the form of a feeling of superiority to the other animals: "C'est ainsi que sachant encore à peine distinguer les rangs, et se contemplant au premier par son espèce, il se préparoit de loin à y prétendre par son individu."

<sup>5</sup> *Essay on Man*, I, 189-190.

Thus the eighteenth-century denunciations of 'pride' are often, at bottom, expressions of a certain disillusionment of man about himself—a phase of that long and deepening disillusionment which is the tragedy of a great part of modern thought. True, the conception of the Chain of Being owed its vogue largely to its use in the argument for (so-called) optimism; and it had its cheerful aspects. But it clearly implied the dethronement of man from his former exalted position. In the bitter spirit of Swift this disillusionment, tho for other reasons, already touched its extreme; the Yahoo is not merely brought nearer to the other animals, he is placed below them. The most detestable and irrational of beings, he crowns his fatuity by imagining himself the aim and climax of the whole creation. Yet Swift had been anticipated in his opinion of the Yahoo by Robert Gould:

What beast beside can we so slavish call  
*As Man?* Who yet pretends he's Lord of all.  
 Whoever saw (and all their classes cull)  
 A dog so snarlish, or a swine so full,  
 A wolf so rav'nous, or an ass so dull?  
 Slave to his passions, ev'ry several lust  
 Whisks him about, as whirlwinds do the dust;  
 And dust he is, indeed, a senseless clod  
 That swells, and yet would be believ'd a God.\*

Two further aspects of the eighteenth-century notion of 'pride' are in part special applications of the principle of continuity, in part consequences of the vogue of certain other conceptions.

2. It was upon his rational faculty and his intellectual achievements that modern man had been wont most to plume himself. But the conception of the graded scale of being tended to fix attention especially upon the limitations of man's mental powers. Moreover, the 'primitivism' which had long been associated with the cult of the sacred word 'Nature' had expressed itself, among other ways, in the disparagement of intellectual pursuits and the depreciation of man's intellectual capacity. In the sixteenth century both Erasmus and Montaigne had dilated upon the vanity of speculation and the corrupting influence of science.

\* Gould's "Satire against Man" (ca. 1708), *Works*, II, 149 f. Gould is an unduly neglected figure in the history of English satire.—It should be added that, as an orthodox churchman, he elsewhere, not too consistently, insists upon man's superiority, as evidenced by his possession of a conscience and an immortal soul.

"In the first golden age of the world," wrote Erasmus, "there was no sort of learning but what was naturally collected from every man's common sense improved by an easy experience. They were not so presumptuous as to dive into the depths of Nature, to labor for the solving all phenomena in astronomy, or to wreak their brains in the splitting of entities and unfolding the nicest speculations, judging it to be a crime for any man to aim at what is put beyond the reach of his shallow comprehension."<sup>7</sup>

This strain, less in evidence in the seventeenth century, the age of great 'systems' in philosophy and science, became in the eighteenth one of the most popular of commonplaces. Finally, the reigning philosophy of the period, in England and France, that of Locke, had as its characteristic aim to fix the boundaries of human knowledge; and it ostensibly found those boundaries to be very narrow.<sup>8</sup> In consequence, chiefly, of the convergence of these three lines of influence, it became customary to berate and satirize all forms of intellectual ambition, and to ascribe to it a great part in the corruption of the natural innocence of mankind. So Pope exhorts:

Trace science, then, with modesty they guide,  
First strip off all her equipage of pride, etc.\*

The condemnation of 'pride,' then, is frequently, in the eighteenth century, one of the ways of expressing a primitivistic anti-intellectualism. Rousseau was but repeating a current commonplace when he wrote in the *Premier Discours* that "toutes les sciences, et la morale même, sont nées de l'orgueil humain," and

<sup>7</sup> *Moriae Encomium.* For the equation of 'pride' with the spirit of science in Montaigne, cf. the following: "Le soing de s'augmenter en sagesse et en science, ce feut la premiere ruyne du genre humain; . . . l'orgueil est sa perte et sa corruption" (*Apologie de Raimond Sebond*). Note also how closely much of Swift's contrast of the Yahoos and the Houyhnhnms follows Montaigne's comparison of man with the other animals, in the same essay.

\* *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, I, chap. I, §§ 5-7.

<sup>8</sup> *Essay on Man*, II, 43 ff.; cf. Robert Gould's satirical picture of the scholar's life ("Satire against Man," 167-9) and his praise of the ignorance of the state of nature (170 ff.). In the mid-eighteenth century it is, of course, true that this sort of anti-intellectualism co-existed—sometimes even in the same minds—with that enthusiasm for the "study of nature," i. e., of empirical physical science, of which M. Mornet has admirably written the history in his *Les sciences de la nature en France au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

that "le luxe, la dissolution et l'esclavage ont été de tout temps le châtiment des efforts orgueilleux que nous avons faits pour sortir de l'heureuse ignorance où la sagesse éternelle nous avait placés."

3. In ethical as in intellectual endeavor, typical moralists of the early eighteenth century believed in a program of limited objectives. Here, again, the tradition of ethical naturalism which had been handed down especially through Erasmus and Montaigne readily combined with the idea of the graded scale of being. Man must not attempt to transcend the limitations of his 'nature'; and his nature, though not the same as that of the animals below him in the scale, is close akin to it. 'Reason' has a part in the conduct of human life; but it is an ancillary part. Pope devotes many lines of versified argumentation to showing that the motive-power and the principal directive force in man's life is—and should be—not reason, but the complex of instincts and passions which make up our 'natural' constitution.<sup>10</sup> 'Pride,' then, in an especially important sense, meant a sort of 'moral overstrain,' the attempt to be unnaturally good and immoderately virtuous, to live by reason alone. Erasmus and Montaigne had come to have an antipathy to this lofty and strenuous moral temper thru a direct revulsion against the revived Stoicism in fashion in the late Renaissance; and the Stoics passed in the eighteenth century for the proverbial embodiments of 'pride' in this sense. Thus Pope describes man as a being "with too much weakness for the Stoic pride"; and Wieland in his *Theages* (1760) remarks that the Stoic pride and self-sufficiency "departs very widely from nature" and "can be possible only in God." "Eben so wenig," he adds, "konnte ich die Unterdrückung des sinnlichen Teils unsers Wesens mit der Natur reimen."

I have dwelt upon this and the preceding aspect of the conception of pride especially because Mr. Elder—like many others before him—seems to me seriously to exaggerate the rationalism of the period, its "extravagant claims to reason," its confidence in "the dry light of reason." Unless "reason" is carefully and somewhat peculiarly defined, such expressions are misleading. The authors who were perhaps the most influential and the most representative in the early and mid-eighteenth century made a great point of reducing man's claims to 'reason' to a minimum, and to belittling

<sup>10</sup> *Essay on Man*, II, 59-202.

the importance of that faculty in human existence; and the vice of 'pride' which they so delighted to castigate was exemplified for them in any high estimate of the capacity of the human species for intellectual achievement, or in any of the more ambitious enterprises of science and philosophy, or in any moral ideal which would make pure 'reason' (as distinguished from natural 'passions') the supreme power in human life. 'Pride' was, indeed, exemplified, for some such writers, in everything 'artificial'; and in the homilies against it the whole gospel of the Return to Nature was often implicit.<sup>11</sup>

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### REVIEWS

*Etude sur Pathelin*, par RICHARD T. HOLBROOK. [Elliott Monographs] Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, et Paris, E. Champion, 1917. 123 pp. et 23 illustrations.

Emile Picot exprimait en 1904 le vœu qu'une édition critique de la *Farce de Pathelin* fût enfin donnée aux amateurs de l'ancienne littérature française. Or dès 1905 un Américain répondait à cet appel en publiant les premiers travaux d'approche vers une édition définitive. J'ai nommé Richard Thayer Holbrook.

I. L'*Etude sur Pathelin* qu'il vient de nous donner est faite suivant la méthode qui marquait d'une empreinte personnelle ses articles de *Modern Philology* de 1905 et des *Modern Language*

<sup>11</sup> I have not attempted in this brief note to touch upon another movement of ideas in the eighteenth century concerning 'pride'—the doctrine that pride, in the sense of the craving for that which will feed the individual's feeling of distinction and superiority, is, on the whole, though an irrational, a socially beneficent, passion of the human animal. This appears in its most extreme form in Mandeville, who makes 'pride' the basis of all social order; but Hume goes farther towards this conclusion than Mr. Elder quite indicates, and a kindred conception plays a large part in Adam Smith's profound and subtle analysis of the 'moral sentiments.' Mandeville was one of those who helped to give currency to the premise accepted by the primitivists: science, industry, the arts, luxury and trade are all born of pride. But from this premise he drew the opposite inference; since civilization, if not a good, is at least a necessary evil, 'pride,' which is its moving force, is a kind of useful folly.

Notes de 1906. Dans la première partie, intitulée *Bibliographie raisonnée*, il prend comme idée directrice la question suivante : "Quelle forme de Pathelin doit primer toutes les autres et par conséquent servir de base à une édition critique?" Son enquête porte sur 16 imprimés et 4 manuscrits couvrant la période de 1486 à 1550 environ. Parmi ces textes, les seuls qui appartiennent franchement au XVe Siècle sont : 1. *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*, sans lieu ni date, mais identifié comme imprimé à Lyon en 1485 ou 1486 par Guillaume Le Roy.—2. *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* imprimé par Pierre Levet, non daté mais que H. par comparaison entre les différents états des marques d'impression de Levet est parvenu à situer entre Novembre 1489 et Décembre 1490.—3. *Pathelin le Grant et le Petit*, imprimé par Guillaume Beneaut, à Paris, en 1490.

Ainsi l'antériorité du Pathelin de Le Roy étant hors de doute, il reste la question des rapports de Levet avec Beneaut. Holbrook, grâce à une démonstration d'une sûreté et d'une élégance rationnelle extrême, nous avait déjà préparés à situer la date du Pathelin de Levet avant celle du Pathelin de Beneaut. Il achève par l'expertise analytique du texte de renverser décisivement les conclusions de Picot et de Claudin, et de prouver que Levet a été non seulement le prédécesseur mais le guide de Beneaut. (Cf. son examen des vers 273, 323, 1031, 1425).<sup>1</sup>

Beneaut s'étant inspiré de Levet, de qui Levet s'inspire-t-il? "De Le Roy," répond H. Nous voici ramenés à ce texte capital du vieil imprimeur lyonnais, texte dont il ne subsiste plus qu'un seul exemplaire mutilé. . . . Le plus ancien qui nous soit parvenu, cet imprimé est-il l'original? H. semble incliner à le croire, mais est trop prudent pour se prononcer. Il prouve en tout cas que Le Roy a été sous les yeux de Levet comme son guide. La façon dont il établit ce point n'est pas l'application la moins remarquable de sa méthode ingénieuse et robuste : Je renvoie entre autres le lecteur aux pages 3 à 6 de son Etude, où, s'appuyant sur deux coquilles de Levet, il montre qu'elles sont dues à une confusion de pages et que cette confusion portait nécessairement sur un modèle paginé comme le texte de Le Roy. D'autre part il établit que les diver-

<sup>1</sup> Je signalerai que les conclusions de H. ont été reprises dans les *Studien sur Farce Pathelin* de J. Schumacher, Berlin, 1911, qui ajoute un certain nombre d'arguments à ceux de son devancier américain.

gences du texte de Levet par rapport à Le Roy sont rares et insignifiantes et que c'est toujours chez Le Roy que l'on trouve la "lectio difficilior." La démonstration est décisive pour tous ceux "qui savent distinguer une impression d'avec une preuve."

Quant aux autres éditions on peut schématiser ainsi les conclusions de H.: Levet (nous venons de voir qu'il suit Le Roy) a été suivi par presque tous les imprimeurs subséquents jusqu'à Galiot du Pré en 1532. Ce dernier, imprimeur d'esprit critique et cultivé, très estimé de Marot, continue la tradition Levet mais en éditeur intelligent. Galiot du Pré est lui-même le guide de tous les imprimeurs ultérieurs.<sup>2</sup> Il reste donc acquis en dernière analyse que Le Roy est, du moins relativement aux textes qui ont survécu, l'Archétype. Mais, comme H. le fait valoir avec raison, il y a d'intéressantes variantes à prendre dans les autres éditions mêmes les plus éloignées du point de départ.

Les quatre manuscrits vus par H. remontent tous à des imprimés. (Le ms. de Harvard a sa source dans une des éditions qui remontent à celle de Galiot du Pré.)

II. *Commentaire sur quelques passages du texte de Pathelin.* La Farce de Pathelin soulève des problèmes qui touchent à l'histoire de la langue, de la littérature et des mœurs du XVe siècle. Mais, parmi tous ces points d'interrogation, il en est qui me semblent spécifiques à Pathelin: la richesse de la rime et la science de la versification qui distinguent cette farce de *toutes* les autres, et qui marquent l'auteur comme ayant dû être un des premiers techniciens du vers de son temps. (C'est là un élément dont j'espère démontrer l'incommensurable valeur pour la solution du problème de la paternité du Pathelin.) Il y aurait encore à étudier les rapports du thème avec les "*Repues franches*" post-villonesques et les *jeux de bergers*, ce dernier motif comique si étroitement lié avec la littérature dramatique religieuse et spécialement les "*Nativités*"; enfin il faudrait regarder de près l'actualité satirique et historique de ce chef-d'œuvre qui, après tout, est une exquise pochade comique en marge du règne de Louis XI.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>C'est Galiot du Pré qui commence à imprimer ensemble *la Farce de Pathelin* et le *Blason de faulces amours* de Guillaume Alécis—ce en quoi tous les imprimeurs du XVIe s., à partir de 1532, l'ont suivi. J'espère pouvoir prochainement démontrer que Galiot du Pré avait eu pour faire ainsi une bonne et valable raison.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. le travail de S. B. Hemmingway "*English Nativity Plays.*" (Yale

De tous ces problèmes celui de la langue est le seul que H. ait voulu aborder dans le présent travail, mais il est le prolégomène essentiel de tous les autres. Dès les premiers vers que prononce Pathelin nous sommes arrêtés par le mot *cabasser*.

Pour quelque paine que je mette  
A cabasser na ramasser  
Nous ne pouons rien amasser (2-4).

H. dégage, à l'aide d'autres exemples, que la signification de *casser* est un adoucissement argotique de voler ou gaspiller et c'est bien là en effet ce qui semble ressortir d'un autre passage curieusement analogue de Guillaume Alécis dans le *Débat de l'Omme et de la Femme*.

L'une cabasse, l'autre amasse,  
L'autre quelque trahison brasse (73-74).

Le mot se retrouve également dans le vers 1140 de la Farce.

L'aignelet maint aigneau de let  
luy as cabasse a ton maistre,

et dans ces vers de Guillaume Alécis (encore!),

Tel se confie en son berger  
Qui lui *cabasse* ses moutons  
*(Faintes du Monde, 317-318) ?*

Je crois que dans les deux premiers exemples la signification de *cabasser* est un peu plus euphémique que ne le dit H. et qu'il faut comprendre "se creuser ou se casser la tête," "tirer des plans sur la comète," comme dit si joliment le populaire de chez nous. J'ai entendu *cabasser* pour la première et seule fois de ma vie, dans la bouche d'un poilu, ex-ouvrier ambulant qui l'avait ramassé Dieu sait où ! C'était pendant une partie de cartes où il avait dans son jeu un as rebelle à toutes les combinaisons. "J'ai beau cabasser, s'écria-t-il, il n'y a rien à faire." Ici le sens était probablement "se creuser" ou "se casser la tête." Mais il serait hasardé d'attacher aucune importance à un rapprochement de ce genre.

Le terme *advocat dessoubz l'orme* que Guillemette applique quelques vers plus bas à son mari fait chez H. l'objet d'un commentaire

Studies, 1909) où l'on verra l'extraordinaire développement dans le sens réaliste et comique des "jeux des bergers" au XVe siècle. Je me propose de revenir sur ce point en temps et lieu.

historique très précis. Il y montre une allusion à un usage médiéval qui a survécu jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et suivant lequel les habitants d'un village ou les vassaux d'un même seigneur se donnaient rendez-vous sous l'orme pour régler leurs différends. Quant au sens spécifique dans la Farce, H. le considère comme répondant à la traduction de Cotgrave, "An obscure lawyer, a pratling or pidling Pettifogger," sans que cela veuille dire que Pathelin soit un avocat de village.

Une autre expression obscure est celle de *chaudes testes* dans le passage suivant:

vous estes  
tenu lune des *chaudes testes*  
qui soit en toute la parroisse (51-53).

C'est bien là la "lectio difficilior." Elle ne semble pas avoir été comprise de Levet lui-même, qui a *saiges testes*. H. établit clairement que *chaudes testes* est selon toute probabilité la leçon authentique. Mais que signifie-t-elle? Il me semble qu'on peut penser à l'image "cuit," "rôti" au feu de l'expérience, comme dans ces vers des *Faintes du Monde*:

Tel a rosti dix ans entiers  
Qui n'est pas encore assez fin.

Peut-être est-ce encore l'idée d'échaudé? Cela serait une allusion aux mésaventures de Pathelin, auquel, plus loin, sa femme rappelle qu'il a eu maille à partir avec la justice et a fait connaissance avec le pilori?

Un peu plus loin nous rencontrons une expression également difficile, au vers 216 :

**Encore ay ie denier et maille  
quoncques ne virent pere ne mere,**

H. dit avec raison qu'il faut comprendre "qui onques" . . . Mais il suggère, d'ailleurs sous réserve, une explication un peu trop subtile par analogie avec un vieux dicton, "onques loup ne vit son père." Pathelin ne se paierait-il pas plutôt le plaisir de mystifier le drapier en employant une expression volontairement équivoque et obscurément prometteuse? Pour Pathelin (et pour les spectateurs!) cela veut dire tout simplement "des écus qui n'ont pas encore été frappés!" Mais l'esprit du drapier n'était pas assez alerte pour saisir laveu ironique contenu dans cette espèce d'aparté.

Nul doute aussi que cette phrase ne fût soulignée à la scène d'un sourire et d'un clignement d'yeux tout particuliers! De même, lorsque le drapier dit en parlant de l'argent que Pathelin lui a promis :

Ilz ne verront soleil ne lune  
les escus qui me baillera,

il entend évidemment qu'il les mettra en lieu sûr mais en même temps il exprime sans s'en douter et de très amusante façon l'inanité de ses propres espoirs.

L'allusion du drapier à la *grant froidure*, au vers 245,

trestout le bestail est peri  
cest yver par la *grant froidure*,

fournit à H. un précieux commentaire. Il établit que cette allusion doit se rapporter à l'hiver exceptionnellement rigoureux de 1464 signalé par la Chronique du Mont Saint-Michel. 1464 serait ainsi la date à laquelle la Farce de Pathelin est apparue. L'allusion si curieuse contenue dans les *Faintes du Monde* de Guillaume Alécis, auteur du *Blason de Fausses Amours*,

tels a largent par beau *blason*  
qui nentend pas son *pathelin* (859-860).

ne s'oppose pas à cette hypothèse, car rien ne nous défend de reculer jusqu'à 1465 la date des *Faintes du Monde*, que les éditeurs de Guillaume Alécis, MM. Piaget et Picot, placent vers 1460.

Je devrais tout citer, tant est grande la richesse et la plénitude de ce commentaire de H. Son travail est écrit avec un rare et intime sentiment du français ancien et moderne et il répand sur beaucoup de points une clarté décisive. Autant que d'avoir su expliquer, il faut lui être reconnaissant d'avoir su douter méthodiquement et d'avoir préféré de fécondes "positions de questions" à des solutions hasardées. Le vieux chef-d'œuvre contient encore maints problèmes, mais des contributions comme cette *Etude* de Holbrook dessinent la voie vers plus de lumière.

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*Pêcheur d'Islande*, by PIERRE LOTI, edited with Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary by JAMES F. MASON. New York, Holt, 1920.

A third school-edition of the same French text, unless measurably better than its predecessors, would be a work of supererogation. Professor Mason, however, fulfills the condition; his version of *Pêcheur d'Islande*, a distinct improvement upon Super's,<sup>1</sup> promises to be the best for those whose chief business with the book is linguistic (assuming, *dato non concesso*, that it is wise to make this use of a work so delicate in literary texture). Peirce's<sup>2</sup> remains the best for those whose interest is in Loti's art.

Mason alone provides pedagogical apparatus: *Questionnaire, Exercices, Sujets de Compositon, Lettres à écrire*. The material is not copious; for the student who should prepare three pages of the text there would be on the average one grammatical problem and four or five opportunities to formulate in French replies to simple questions. But the editor means to be "suggestive rather than exhaustive," and, as a point of departure, what he offers should prove valuable to the drill-master. The Vocabulary has the appearance of being well done; *à vue* (p. 94, l. 7) and *ou bien* (p. 104, l. 5) should, however, be included, "keep" is correct, but not illuminating, for *garder* (cf. p. 92, l. 14), and "ridiculous" takes somewhat from the flavor of *impayable* (p. 62, l. 14).<sup>3</sup> The Notes are, necessarily, reminiscent of those of Peirce and Super, although less numerous. One or two seem exceptionable: to explain *entre deux eaux* by "Cf. *nager entre deux eaux*, 'to swim under water,'" will not enlighten the tyro;<sup>4</sup> "girl of good birth" is not a proper translation for *démoiselle* in the context (p. 14, l. 20);<sup>5</sup> *vieille* is not explained at all, although surely a laconic "hurdy-gurdy" in the Vocabulary is not adequate for young Americans.

In the Notes, and elsewhere, Mason evidently does not attempt to compete with Peirce. The Notes of the Peirce edition, it is worth while to remark, have a quality which both other editions lack, and offer, concerning the Breton setting, information directly useful in appreciating the story. Indeed Peirce's work here ap-

<sup>1</sup> Heath, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Ginn, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. British "priceless."

<sup>4</sup> Super's note is more explicit.

<sup>5</sup> Although Peirce gives the same translation. Why not: "In spite of her cap she did not look like a peasant girl"?

proaches, in degree of excellence, that of Baldensperger in his edition of *Les Traits éternels de la France* (Barrès),<sup>6</sup> a model of this kind of elucidation, and Peirce's Introduction partakes of the same quality, being an elaborate and deft appraisal of the art of Loti such as neither of the other two editors has undertaken.

Less concerned with *Pêcheur d'Islande* as literature, Mason has been less unwilling than Peirce to cut the text. A comparison of the three abridgements with the original edition of 1886 is revealing. With Super it is a case of mutilation; he has slashed mercilessly, not even preserving the chapter divisions and daring not only to omit but to revise. Mason seems to have followed the lead of Super to some extent, but he has on the whole shown a greater respect for the artist's creation. In view of the exigencies of time and decorum (*ad usum delphini*, Mason puts it), it would be unfair to reprehend Mason's performance, although the fact remains that Peirce's is the only version which offers anything like an integral text. Not infrequently Mason omits paragraphs which contribute appreciably to an understanding of the characters or to an enjoyment of the picturesque environment (cf. p. 9, l. 3; p. 16, l. 25; p. 18, l. 28; p. 43, l. 22; etc.). These are cases where decorum could not have been an issue. Would it not be better, since teachers will continue to demand short texts, to omit more frequently entire chapters, to offer a smaller number of chapters but intact, in their purity,—taking those which are, for the *delphinus*, pure?<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Yale Press, 1918.

<sup>7</sup> Misprints are few except in the Notes. The following have been remarked: p. v, l. 18, read "opportunities"; facing p. 54, *bretons*; Notes, p. 157 (2, 14), *elle avait dû*; (2, 19), *du pantalon*; p. 158 (8, 16), *Marguerite*; p. 159 (18, 7), *faisait*; (19, 22), delete *en*; p. 160 (43, 9), read *du*; (50, 3), *Loguivy*; p. 162 (94, 31), delete *en*; (123, 22), read "him"; p. 165, l. 24, *Quel*; p. 169, l. 1, *reculèrent*; p. 170, l. 22, *fallait*.

*The Contemporary Drama of France.* By FRANK WADLEIGH CHANDLER, Professor and Dean in the University of Cincinnati. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1920. x + 409 pp.

The French drama as here treated covers three decades—from the opening of the Théâtre Libre (1887) to the end of the World War. The period, although seemingly short, counted in France no fewer than three hundred dramatic authors, representing a total of a thousand plays. Accordingly, the subject presented for the critic two possibilities: he might either emphasize the high points, noticing only incidentally the subalterns, or else attempt a complete study, with proportionately less attention to major dramatists. The former course, no doubt, seemed the more tempting, since it required little research in tedious details; but the latter, if executed with painstaking thoroughness, gave promise of results more gratifying. Accepting the monotonous task of giving to all writers sympathetic consideration, Professor Chandler has chosen to make a searching inquiry,—a wise decision for two reasons. In the first place, the contemporary French drama, in spite of its imposing array of representatives, can boast no overowering chieftains. Apart from a dozen or so of talent, all are mediocre, yet plenty of them sufficiently important to justify consideration. Moreover, the leading playwrights had frequently received critical attention; what was really needed was a comprehensive guide to minor as well as major authors. Hence the timeliness of the present book.

The critic who would embrace the entire dramatic production of contemporary France is at the outset confronted with a difficult problem, the classification of authors. Probably no other period of French literature exhibits a character so split up and devoid of main currents. In fact writers commonly characterize it as a maze of conflicting influences. Yet Professor Chandler has succeeded in bringing order out of chaos. Thanks to his ingenious grouping of matter, the various tendencies, though at times indistinct or coalescent, assume contour, enabling every playwright to find a snug corner.

In the course of his eleven compact chapters, the author considers, after "Precursors of the Moderns," such suggestive groups as "Naturalism and the Free Theatre," "Ironic Realists," "Moraliasts," "Reformers," "Major Poets and Romancers," "Importers

and War Exploiters." In another chapter, "Makers of Mirth," the humorists very properly claim attention. In America we do not readily grasp the significance of delicate social satirists like Courte-line, Bisson, and Tristan Bernard. Appropriate, elsewhere, is the treatment of classic influence and of religious dramatists. Only the specialist realizes to what extent neo-classicism and religion are reflected in the contemporary French theatre. As for naturalism, Mr. Chandler points out succinctly yet adequately its dogmas and shortcomings.

In considering individual dramatists, Mr. Chandler's judgment is sound. With a keen eye he probes beneath the surface, scrutinizing, evaluating, and interpreting. Unhampered by prejudice, he seeks information cautiously, insuring to all a fair hearing. Dumas *fils*, Becque, Rostand, Richépin, Maeterlinck, Brieux, Émile Fabre, Paul Claudel are drawn with a trained hand, salient features being so stressed as to individualize the portraits. New interpretations and unpublished facts stimulate interest. François de Curel receives the merited tribute, "More than any other writer for the French stage, he reveals the temperament and personality of genius." Henry Bataille is aptly called "a specialist in the pathology of love." Fittingly presented, too, are such minor playwrights as Gaston Devore, Sacha Guitry, Paul Gavault, and Robert de Flers.

Now and then, however, critics might dissent. For instance, Maurice Donnay, we think, receives undue praise. It cannot be denied that even his *Georgette Lemeunier* and *L'Autre Danger* are marred by incoherence and caprice. Incorrect titles of plays, such as omission of the article in *La Sacrifiée* (p. 354), *Les Mouettes* (401), *La Petite Amie* (403), *La Petite Paroisse* (403), occur occasionally. On the other hand, the article should be omitted in *Bagnes d'Enfants* (364) and *Amoureuse* (385). Among minor orthographical errors might be mentioned *tue-là* (9), *Le Veillesse de Richelieu* (21, 356), *Le Nabob* (59, 60, 353, 401), *Ganélon* (277), *Voguë* (324, 409), *Charette anglaise* (336, 389), *d'Urfée* (286, 408). Nor is it usual to give Stendhal the *particule* (53, 55). The death of Labiche occurred in 1888, Feuillet's in 1890, and that of Judith Gautier in 1917. Trustworthy—and this is more important—are the author's statements about dramas. Inaccuracies like "In *La Couvée* (1893), Brieux assails the *ménage à*

"trois" (223), could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Chandler's style is enhanced by his striking power of characterization, a quality essential in a tersely condensed book of this sort. Frequently he embodies in a few lines the substance of a play or the essential facts about a dramatist. Thus of Augier he says: "He wrote dramas, not of psychological analysis, nor of intrigue, nor of manners, but of social criticism." Feuillet impresses him as "delicate rather than robust, a feminine soul, sensitive and sentimental." The critic remarks that Abel Hermant lacks the soft indulgence of Capus and the playful fancy of de Croisset. "He strips the trappings from the vicious, to sneer at their uncloaking." Théodore de Banville, "airy, graceful, daring," he affirms, "was a verbal acrobat of irrepressible *esprit*." A page suffices for depicting vividly the career of André Antoine. Nor could one well improve upon the characterization of Hervieu's dramas as "scientific formulas transposed into the key of art."

Dramatic production in France as manifested during the late war, Professor Chandler naturally consider disappointing. The rebirth so sorely needed, and confidently expected, did not occur, although the unwonted seriousness, latterly, of certain playwrights, as witness Sacha Guitry, Bernstein, and de Croisset, reflects the regenerating influence of the conflict. Its brutality, in creating horror of shuddering realism, proved for the moment the chief obstacle to stage reform. For, instead of encouraging seriousness and the depicting of eternal traits of character, theatre-goers craved gayety and frivolity. As now seems likely, however, the war will yet exercise upon the French drama a potent, if indirect influence. Indeed the stern aftermath must of itself seriously affect the temperament and outlook of the playwright. Even though reform should but bring lasting discredit upon the silly triangular play, well wishers of the French stage will feel much gratified.

In the preparation of the present volume, Mr. Chandler has evidently profited from the knowledge of comparative literature

<sup>1</sup> For example, Michael Pauper does not commit suicide; *Joujou* does not end as C. describes; in the third version of *Blanchette* there is nothing "to blink" in the heroine's past; *l'Invitée* is not sentimental, as C. implies; it is scarcely enough to say that the heroine of *La Fille sauvage* returns to Africa to wed her native prince.—H. C. L.

which he revealed six years ago in *Aspects of Modern Drama*. Acquaintance with other contemporary literatures has frequently enabled him to make interesting comparisons. Besides throwing illuminating sidelights upon foreign plays adapted for the French stage, it has contributed directly, also, to his understanding of those native dramatists who have reacted to exotic influence. Another commendable feature of the book is its bibliographical appendix, which gives, with dates, the plays of two hundred thirty-four French dramatists of all grades, followed by a judicious list of works on the theatre. Concise, lucid, impartial, scholarly without pedantry, Professor Chandler's book should appeal to the general reader, and will be indispensable to students of the drama. Brevity is its only fault.

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*Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Fritz von Unruh.* Vier Vorträge von WALTHER KÜCHLER. Verlagsdruckerei Würzburg, 1919. 86 pp.

Küchler's little book is a model of penetrating criticism, sympathetic interpretation, and conciliatory spirit. Evidently the author's purpose is to bring the German and French intellectuals closer together through a demonstration of the spiritual relationship of outstanding individuals in the two nations. If only as symptomatic of the present mental attitude of the German professor, these essays would be noteworthy. Küchler has given us, however, much more than a *Tendenzwerk*. The four brief essays are models of modern literary criticism; an engaging style is here wedded to solid philosophical labor. Rarely can there be found in a critical work of like compass such satisfactory resumés, such penetrating and judicious evaluations.

In choosing Rolland and Barbusse for presentation and interpretation in Germany, Küchler has naturally selected authors now termed "defeatist" and practically ostracized by many Frenchmen on account of their international views and refusal to hate the enemy. In their works the German can be assured of sympathetic treatment, and a rapprochement is initiated. Reconciliation must be brought about through the mutual spiritual understanding

of independent thinkers in the hostile nations. Fritz von Unruh's *Opfergang*, the tragedy of Verdun, the tragedy of the war for Germany, naturally associates itself with the works of Rolland, and more especially with *Le Feu* of Barbusse.

Romain Rolland, that Frenchman of all-European culture who recognizes that his native land is not isolated, that civilization is the common task of all nations, furnishes the most natural point of contact for German consideration. Küchler, the German, is fairer to Rolland than the latter's fellow-countrymen. He recognizes that Rolland in excoriating France and presenting in Jean Christophe a German model for his countrymen, is filled with an immense love for his country and is laboring to better conditions in France as Tacitus strove to elevate the corrupt Latin civilization of his day. He is fully aware that the author of Jean Christophe could have no sympathy with the modern capitalistic and imperialistic Germany of Wilhelm II. Both Rolland and Küchler see modern Germany swept along in the immense flood of materialistic ambition and Küchler himself admits the justice of the world-wide feeling that the Germany of Goethe, Schiller, Kant, and Beethoven was of greater value to the Germans themselves and to the world than the imperial Germany after 1870 (p. 8). On the whole, Küchler finds that Rolland is eminently fair to Germany, fairer for example, than the German author Heinrich Mann in *Der Untertan*, and acclaims Rolland's literary triumph in creating a German with far greater success than that achieved by any German author in depicting a Frenchman. He does not, however, lose himself in admiration for Rolland so far as to forget to criticize the French author's not altogether successful attempt to weld together two distinct themes, his didactic settlement with France and the development of his German hero, Jean Christophe.

In investigating the sources of Jean Christophe with the few materials at his command during the war, Küchler finds traits of Beethoven and Hugo Wolf in the hero with occasional Wagner reminiscences. The musician Hassler also is identified by Küchler with Wagner. But is not Hassler's resemblance to Richard Strauss far more striking?

Barbusse's *Le Feu* is for Küchler the most significant literary creation of the war, a modern Iliad with a still greater theme than that of Homer. No novel like Tolstoy's *War and Peace* or Zola's

*Débâcle*, but a series of pictures; pictures which are life itself; at the same time a mingling of realism and phantasy like Dürer's *Ritter Tod und Teufel*. For Küchler *Le Feu* is no mere *Tendenzwerk* like Latzko's *Menschen im Krieg* or Frank's *Der Mensch ist gut*. For him it is a great spontaneous passionate outburst of protest against war, against the wholesale European madness, as he too sees it.

A single paragraph from the essay on Barbusse will suffice to illustrate the critic's mastery in condensation, his skill in reproducing in small compass the essentials of a work.

"Er (Barbusse) schildert, wie der einfache Soldat isst, trinkt, hungert, durstet, einschläft, schläft, träumt, aufwacht, gähnt, sich reckt und streckt, sich juckt und kratzt, immer wieder sich juckt und kratzt, dasitzt im Regen oder in der Sonne, raucht, spuekt, spielt, redet, schweigt, schreibt, liest, wie er marschiert bei Tag und bei Nacht, wie er mit Spaten und Hacke schanzt, in eiskalter Nässe, in klebrigem Unrat, im feindlichen Feuer, wie er auf Posten steht, auf Patrouille geht, im Horchloch liegt, wie er plötzlich im Angriff steht, kämpft, von Kugeln getroffen, von Granaten zerrissen wird, stirbt, verwest, verfault, vertrocknet." Here we have the entire story of Barbusse's squad, the life of the average common soldier during four years of deadening service.

If Küchler is in accord with the Barbusse of *Le Feu*, he cannot accept the thesis of *Clarté* that love of the Fatherland shall endure but the idea of the Fatherland be destroyed. In general, however, he seems to sympathize with the *Clarté* program. As a literary work he overestimates this propagandistic document, comparing it even with the work of a Flaubert. Unfortunately, however, in the later works of Barbusse as well as of Rolland literature suffers through subordination to propaganda.

If Barbusse has given us the epic of the war in *Le Feu*, Fritz von Unruh's *Opfergang* is the lyrical expression of the conflict, its ballad. Earlier entitled *Verdun*, it depicts Germany's tragedy and foreshadows the revolution. In contrast with the mere packages, phantoms of men pictured by Barbusse in his squad, Unruh has described outstanding lovable personalities. But the nobility of the individual, his willingness to sacrifice himself for the cause was but an illusion in the great tragedy. Küchler, accustomed himself to the modern German "expressionists" like Edschmidt, hardly

mentions the peculiar technique of Unruh's style. For an American, accustomed to the German of the pre-war writers, Unruh's sentences are a revelation, a shock, and show what a revolution in style has been attempted by youngest Germany.

After *Opfergang*, Küchler describes *Ein Geschlecht*, the tragedy of the Revolution. If Küchler's analysis of this work, which he calls "undoubtedly one of the greatest and most beautiful poetic compositions of Germany," is less successful than his remarkable pictures of Jean Christophe or Barbusse's squad, the failure lies in the nature of the drama with its formless storm of passionate protest and nightly gloom. Perhaps, too, the censor's cuts have had their share in rendering more difficult a complete understanding and adequate interpretation of this drama.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### *Le Horla*

In response to a question in *L'Intermédiaire* (XLIV, 54), three different explanations were offered for the title of Maupassant's story, *Le Horla*. Mansuy would explain it by a visit of the author to the Côte d'Azur. His presence doubtless aroused the curiosity of the tourists, and caused lively discussion of the recently published *Mont Oriol*, the novel of the growth of a thermal station. The Côte d'Azur has always attracted many Russians, and the genitive of *Oriol* in Russian is *Orla* or rather *Horla*. The frequency with which this word was pronounced and the annoying curiosity of the foreigners may have impressed the sound on the mind of the author. (*Intermédiaire*, XLIV, 143-144).—A correspondent who signs himself H. C. M. finds the reasoning of Mansuy over ingenious. He says: "Il est évident pour moi qu'ayant à nommer un être mystérieux, d'essence et de formes inconnues, il (Maupassant) a dû chercher une combinaison de syllabes sonore, étrange, mais ne correspondant à aucune idée, à aucune appellation connues. . . . Je conclus donc que le nom de *Horla* est une création réussie, non l'adaptation d'une forme existante." (*Ibid.*, 203-204). Finally B. F. offers another explanation: "Très logique, le mot créé par Maupassant pour exprimer son idée. Il n'y a qu'à lire la nouvelle du *Horla* pour voir que l'auteur a voulu rendre par ce terme l'impression que produit au sujet le fantastique dont il se sent entouré: le *hors là*." (*Ibid.*, 256). I venture to offer a fourth hypothesis,

as risky as Mansuy's, but based partly on that of H. C. M. Maupassant was always keenly interested in poetry and counted among his intimate friends from the very start Catulle Mendès. He was also in frequent intercourse with physicians, partly from anxiety about his health and partly because he could get from them subjects for his stories. One has only to run over the list of these to be struck by the number which he puts into the mouth of medical men. Now among the younger Parnassians was the doctor and poet, Henri Cazalis. It is unfortunately impossible to determine just when Maupassant made his acquaintance, for Cazalis, respecting the wishes of his friend in regard to personal publicity, destroyed his letters and declined to add anything to the volume of Lombroso. (See *Souvenirs sur Maupassant*, p. 586). But they were certainly intimate toward the end of Maupassant's life—the volume *L'Inutile Beauté* (1890) is dedicated to Cazalis—and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that they had met, or at least that they had known each other's work much earlier. The themes of Cazalis' poetry, like those of Maupassant's stories, are love and death. Now Maupassant's first works were published under pseudonyms (see Maynial, *La Vie et l'Œuvre de Guy de Maupassant*, p. 80), so that their use by others may well have interested him. Cazalis used at least two. *Les Chants Populaires de l'Italie* appeared in 1865 under the name Jean Caselli; in 1885 *Le Cantique des Cantiques, traduction en vers d'après la version de M. Reuss*, was published under the name of Jean Lahor.<sup>1</sup> The second and third editions of his collected poems, *L'Illusion*, appeared under the same pseudonym (1888 and 1893). The first edition (1875) was signed with his own name, but Faguet, reviewing the edition of 1893 (*La Revue Bleue*, 7 oct.), calls the author only J. Lahor. *Le Horla* appeared in 1887, two years after the first assumption of the pseudonym Jean Lahor by Dr. Cazalis. It is then possible that Maupassant may have found the sonorous combination of syllables of which H. C. M. speaks by inverting the pseudonym of his friend. Maupassant's own feeling for the sonority of proper names is well shown by the opening paragraph of his essay on Zola. (See Lombroso, *op. cit.*, p. 635). This pseudonym amounted to a duplication of personality—how complete, Faguet's review shows; Henri Cazalis was the physician, Jean Lahor the poet. Now the Horla is conceived as a sort of reduplication of its victim.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the capital of the Punjab, Lahore, suggested this name to Cazalis. He was always much interested in Hindoo thought and letters. In 1888 he published a two volume history of Hindoo literature. Obviously the word had appealed to him for its sonority.

## BEAUMONT ON DRUNKENNESS

An interrogation mark, set against a sentence in Professor Tolman's interesting study of "Drunkenness in Shakespeare" (*Modern Language Notes*, xxxiv, 82 f.), is the start of this bit of research. Professor Tolman writes (p. 87): "I question whether a parallel to Cassio's intense shame at being overcome by drink can be found in the literature of that period." Such a parallel is found in the beautiful sub-plot, largely or possibly entirely by Francis Beaumont, in *The Coxcomb*. This part of the play, if separated from the foul Fletcherian version of the "Curious Impertinent" theme which is the main plot, might become widely known and admired.<sup>1</sup> Ricardo and Viola, planning an elopement, engage to meet "at the next corner to [her] father's house" that same night. We next see Ricardo at a tavern with a company of roisterers; the scene is certainly one of the most realistic and successful treatments of wassailing in the old drama. The versification of the opening lines, the conversational tone of the dialogue, and the coarseness of treatment seem to indicate Fletcher. But the use of prose through most of the scene points to Beaumont. Moreover the gradual undermining of Ricardo's resistance to drink is depicted with greater seriousness and more art than one looks for in Fletcher. At first protesting, disinclination to liquor gives way to praise of the "plaguy strong" sack, and at the close of the scene Ricardo has completely forgotten his appointment with the gentle Viola and sallies forth with his companions in search of some wenches. In i, vi, they meet Viola waiting at the arranged rendezvous; Ricardo, not recognizing her, accosts her with drunken freedom of speech. Viola exclaims:

"I never saw a drunken man before;  
But these I think are so"

and effects her escape. Until towards the end of the play she goes through a series of vicissitudes, escaping from the toils of a rough tinker and his trull (ii, ii: the realistic gusto of the scene reminds one of *Beggars' Bush* and indeed Fletcher may well have had some hand in it though it is essential to Beaumont's plot) only to fall into the more dangerous snares of a country squire and finally to obtain service and harsh treatment on a dairy farm. Meanwhile Ricardo, the next morning, recovers his sober senses. His remorse at his shameful treatment of his lady-love is depicted vividly in a

<sup>1</sup> The story of Ricardo and Viola occupies the following scenes: i, i, to line 36 (Professor Gayley denies this to Beaumont; but I am not convinced that it is not his); i, v (attributed to Fletcher by Gayley on the score of "gratuitous obscenity"; but see below); i, vi; ii, ii (attributed to Fletcher by Gayley for the same reason as i, vi); ii, iv; iii, iii (except last 36 lines where Fletcher may perhaps be discerned); iv, i; iv, ii; iv, iii ("where Fletcher appears at his best in this play"—Gayley); iv, vii; v, ii; v, iii, last 27 lines.

scene (II, iv) that has reminded Professor Schelling of Shakespeare's Cassio (*Elizabethan Drama*, I, 402). Beaumont's portrayal of this weak, well-meaning, self-reproachful gentleman is more fluent, less terse, less profound than Shakespeare's; but it is equally sincere.

"Am I not mad? can this weak-temper'd head,  
That will be mad with drink, endure the wrong  
That I have done a virgin, and my love?"

He declares to the fellows who had led him astray that he will never leave off drinking; he will "purchase all the wine the world can yield"

"And all this while we'll never think of those  
That love us best, more than we did last night."

This despairing irony gives place to a determination to follow Viola. In a most charming scene he finds her at the farm (V, iii) but will not contaminate her by his near approach. He kneels down far off; she comes up to him, at first with faint distrust; but hearing his apology:

"Here I am by you,  
A careless man, a breaker of my faith,  
A loathsome drunkard, and, in that wild fury,  
A hunter after whores: I do beseech you  
To pardon all these faults, and take me up  
An honest, sober, and a faithful man,"

Viola forgives him with a gracious sweetness worthy of Shakespeare's women.

"Methinks, I would not now, for any thing  
But you had miss'd me: I have made a story  
Will serve to waste many a winter's fire,  
When we are old."

For all the happy outcome, Ricardo has had his lesson from sad experience equally with Cassio.

*The Scornful Lady* throws, perhaps, additional light upon Beaumont's views on intemperance. This depends upon whether we accept Professor Gayley's ascription of I, ii, to him. Beneath the "racy realism" of this scene there is some slight condemnation of liquor in that it is the younger Loveless, in confederation with other boon companions, who here sets about squandering his brother's estate while the elder is supposedly away on his travels. The younger brother is here (as in *The Elder Brother*, a fine play in which Beaumont had no share) a foil to the virtues of the elder. He plans to carry himself like a gentleman while his legs will bear him; "but when I am drunk, let them bear me that can." He will spend "all this revenue in drink," "three hundred pounds in drink." It is all jovial enough, but the context makes it evident that praise of such behavior is far from Beaumont's mind. Some such lesson can be drawn even from the character of Merrythought in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, who spends his life eating

good meat, drinking good drink, and laughing; who, so long as he has money, meat and drink till to-morrow noon, is not sad; and whose advice to his son as to the proper way of conducting himself as a good husband is to "wear ordinary clothes, eat the best meat, and drink the best drink, be merry, and give to the poor." Not all Beaumont's sympathy is spent upon this genial old fellow. Poor Mistress Merrythought has to protest against his course of life more than once. "Would I had ne're seen his eyes! He has undone me and himself and his children; and there he lives at home, and sings, and hoists, and revels among his drunken companions; but, I warrant you, where to get a penny to put bread in his mouth he knows not."

Elsewhere Beaumont touches on the theme hardly at all. No boastfulness in his cups helps to excuse Bessus. "The talk of drunkards in taphouses" is contemptuously alluded to in *The Woman-Hater* (I, iii) and in the same play part of a curse upon practicers of the black art is that they may be drunk (III, iii). Utter scorn of drunkards is seen in the description of the lustful princess in *Cupid's Revenge* (I, iii—by Beaumont) who takes up with "a fellow that will hardly serve in the dark when one is drunk."

Beaumont's attitude towards intoxication is thus seen to be that of consistent hostility; and in his only elaborate treatment of the motive he portrays a sense of the shame that follows a last-night's carouse as sincerely and vividly as does Shakespeare in *Othello*. Not that he was in his personal life a teetotaller, an Anderson (heaven forbid!). Was not his pleasure in the country to lie among the hay-ricks in the sunshine and "dream of your full Mermaid wine"?

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BALE'S *Kynge Johan* AND *The Troublesome Raigne*

In the Furness Variorum Edition of *King John* (Preface, p. ix) the editor states, referring to *The Troublesome Raigne*'s relation to Bale's earlier play, that "beyond the fact that both the anonymous author and Bale used the historical material furnished by the *Chronicles*, there is no evidence to show that the author of *The Troublesome Raigne* had any recourse to the work of his predecessor." A research I have recently made has revealed similarities in the two plays suggesting the conclusion that at several points the later author actually was indebted to Bale. The source for both was Holinshed's *Chronicles* and this common origin invalidates many seeming clues. Further, the quite different ideas and characters of the two make salient likenesses out of the question, Bale's being an allegorical combination of morality and history play, and

*The Troublesome Raigne* a crude example of pure English chronicle play. But that *The Troublesome Raigne* is, in certain incidental details, related to early drama it will not be hard to show.

Superficially, the most obvious likeness is that both plays are divided into two parts, of which the first part ends after the interdiction of England and before the restoration of the Pope's favor. Bale interpreted John as a Protestant hero, a defender of the English Church, a moral giant wielding the "flail of the Lord" against papal tyranny. This interpretation of John's stand is not at all derived from Holinshed; there John is represented as opposing a merely temporal defiance to the Pope's temporal aggression. But we see Bale's interpretation again in *The Troublesome Raigne*.

A difficulty is experienced in tracing textual similarities because of the fact that Bale's play has a far narrower scope than *The Troublesome Raigne*. There are really only three points of contact in the two. Both contain Cardinal Pandulph's interdiction of England in the name of the Pope, and John's relinquishment of the crown; the subsequent removal of the curse, and the restoration of the crown and power to the king; the death of King John by poisoning at Swinstead Abbey. These three scenes are taken by both authors direct from Holinshed. The first two show no unexplained likenesses, and this is not to be wondered at. In Bale the characters are symbolical, representing vices of the Roman Church; in *The Troublesome Raigne* the treatment is purely historical. Furthermore, there are no striking phrases in the early play for the later dramatist to seize upon. The parallel scenes at Swinstead Abbey, however, which include the poisoning of the king, show a marked similarity. This scene in Bale's version is quite forceful, and has scarcely a trace of allegory. Tho the murder is committed by Dissimulation, he seems to have lost most of his symbolism; in fact he has disguised himself as "Father Simon, a Cisteane monke." The first noticeable likeness is in the motive for the poisoning, which is the same in both plays. In the *Chronicles* the reason for the monk's treachery is given as patriotic; he poisons John to save England from a rise in the price of corn, which John had threatened as a punishment of the people for their desertion to the French dauphin. In Bale, however, the whole trend of the action is a preparation for the *dénouement*: Dissimulation commits the murder because the king has flouted Pope and Church, and openly condemned Dissimulation, Sedition and their friends. In *The Troublesome Raigne* one of the monks of Swinstead poisons John, "the king that never loved a friar, as he calls him, because John is "a man that doth contemn the Pope" and "rob'd the holy Church." In both the poisoner outlines his plan to his master, who is Sedition in Bale and the abbot in *The Troublesome Raigne*, and receives from him absolution for his intended crime and the promise that the monks of the Abbey shall pray daily for his soul. The two poisoning scenes show very significant simi-

larities which the text of Holinshed does not account for. In Bale, *Dissimulation*, disguised as Father Simon, enters crying:

Wassayle, wassayle, out of the mylke payle,  
Wassayle, wassayle, as whyte as my nayle,  
Wassayle, wassayle, in snowe, frost, and hayle,  
Wassayle, wassayle, with partriche and rayle,  
Wassayle, wassayle, that muche doth avayle,  
Wassayle, wassayle, that never wyll fayle,

and the king, inviting *Dissimulation* to act as taster, says, "Begynne, gentle monke." In *The Troublesome Raigne* the traitorous monk greets the king with the words, "Wassayle, my Liege, and as a poore monke may say, welcome to Swinstead." "Begin, Monke," replies the cautious king. Holinshed gives only the substance of the two versions, the monk's plot to kill the king and readiness to die too, if he be asked to taste the potion, the king's request to this effect, and the monk's compliance and death. It is the similarities of wording which are significant. The *Chronicles* have merely that John was given "poison in a cup of ale." Bale names the drug specifically as "poyson of toade," and in *The Troublesome Raigne* the monk, as he watches the king drink down his deadly stirrup-cup, and begins to feel the poison creep through his own system, gasps out:

"If the inwards of a toad be a compound of any proof—why so:  
it works!"

The summary of the evidence that *The Troublesome Raigne* was suggested, in part at least, by Bale's *Kynge Johan* is as follows: both plays are divided at the same point in the principal action into two parts; the poisoning scenes, which are the only scenes that receive a like handling by both authors, are similarly motivated and treated, and contain several identical phrases; the designation of the poison itself is the same in both; the character of King John receives the same interpretation. None of these points of resemblance is traceable to Holinshed. The evidence is not profuse, but it is weighty enough to make its setting forth less a matter of argument than of simple exposition.

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ENGLISH PERFORMANCES OF *Timon of Athens*

It is generally supposed that Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* has been seldom acted. It has, however, been a favourite play for revision. The first revision was probably Shadwell's, *Timon of Athens, or the Manhater*, acted at Dorset Garden in 1678. This version was given again on the following dates: June 27, 1707; December 8, 1720; May 1, 1733; March 20, 1740; and April 20, 1745. A version by Richard Cumberland was acted at Drury Lane

Theatre on December 4, 1771. At about the same time another form of the tragedy, arranged by James Love, was performed. (On February 6, 1711 an amateur presentation of *Timon* was given at the Clerkenwell School, and there is unconfirmed evidence that the play was acted in Dublin in 1715). Shakespeare and Shadwell, blended by Thomas Hull, were both discernible in a performance of *Timon* at Covent Garden on May 13, 1786. Edmund Kean acted in *Timon of Athens* on October 28, 1816, and Samuel Phelps on September 15, 1851. This version was revived on October 11, 1856. Charles Calvert may have put on the tragedy in Manchester in 1864, but probably the next appearance of *Timon* was at F. R. Benson's revival at Stratford-on-Avon on April 22, 1892. The last English performance was probably at the Cort Theatre, London, in May, 1904.<sup>1</sup>

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#### PEGASUS AS THE POET'S STEED

In *Modern Language Notes*, xxiii (1908), 32, I questioned the accuracy of two traditional statements: (1) that the conception of Pegasus as the poet's steed is found first in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*; (2) that it was ascribed to Boiardo by Lenz, in *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur*, in 1796.

As for the first of these statements, I am still waiting for someone to give a definite reference to canto and stanza in Boiardo. As for the second, I find now that my scepticism was quite justifiable. I have at last seen a copy of *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur* for July, 1796—a copy owned by my Johns Hopkins colleague Dr. William Kurrelmeyer. As I had suspected, Lenz did not make the definite statement which has long been ascribed to him. All he said was: "Dieser dichterische Ritt blieb der Erfindungskraft der neuern Dichter vorbehalten, unter welchen ihn zuerst der Italiener Bojardo im *Orlando inamorato* versucht haben soll."

In a paper read before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, Aug. 22, 1919, M. Salomon Reinach stated that this conception of Pegasus does not appear before the sixteenth century. In my communication to *MLN*, 1908, I quoted it from a poem of the year 1497, Juan del Enzina's *Tragedia trovada á la dolorosa muerte del principe Don Juan*:

Despierta, despierta tus fuerzas, Pegaso,  
Tú que llevabas á Belerofonte;  
Llévame á ver aquél alto monte,  
Muéstrame el agua mejor del Parnaso, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> A full account of these versions, together with the stage-history of *Timon of Athens* on the French, German, and American stages, may be found in *Modern Philology* for September, 1920.

## AN HOCCLEVE ITEM

In the accounts of the life of Thomas Hoccleve, it has not been noted that in 1395 Richard II granted him a corrodij in the priory of Hayling, near the Isle of Wight. The grant, which bears date of January 22 (17 Richard II.), states that 'Thomas Hoccleve clericus' is sent to the prior and convent of Hayling to receive such sustenance for the term of his life as William Gampon, defunct, had at the request of King Edward III.<sup>1</sup> As there is no reason to suppose that at this time Hoccleve retired from his clerkship and resided in the priory, presumably the corrodij was commuted for a money annuity.<sup>2</sup> In the first year of Henry IV another entry in the *Close Rolls* states that Thomas Hoccleve has requested that his corrodij at Hayling be transferred to 'our beloved clerks' William Flete and William Gedney and that the request has been granted.<sup>3</sup> Evidently Hoccleve had disposed of his corrodij in much the same way as Chaucer did of his annuity.<sup>4</sup>

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## BRIEF MENTION

*Ueber ein- und dreihebige Halbverse in der altenglischen alliterierenden Poesie*, von Erich Neuner (Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1920). Normally this study would have appeared in 1914. The author's service in the war delayed his promotion to the degree of Ph. D. until June, 1920, when the printed dissertation was duly presented to the University of Berlin.

The outstanding points of interest in this monograph will subordinate fault-finding with immaturity in linguistic reasoning, and with a lack of taste in commanding the printer's devices for the 'display' of the matter. These points are two in number: a new questioning of the validity of rhythmic principles assumed by Rieger and Sievers in the theory of Anglo-Saxon versification, and the implied endorsement of this questioning by Professors Brandl and Heusler.

The system of scansion as formulated by Professor Sievers admits certain unusual features of rhythmic movement, such as the juxtaposition of the stresses in type C, and the rhythmic peculiari-

<sup>1</sup> *Close Roll*. 235. mem. 22, dorso. Gampon was a *valletus* of the King's chamber in 1368. See *Life-Records of Chaucer*, IV, p. 167, also p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> See C. Plummer, *Fortesque*, Notes pp. 337-38 (cited in N. E. D. s. v. 'corrodij') on the possibility of such commutation, and for more definite evidence my *Chaucer's Official Life*, p. 24, where I have pointed out that Gampon held several corrodies at the same time.

<sup>3</sup> C. R. 245 mem. 9. dorso.

<sup>4</sup> See *Chaucer's Official Life*, p. 68 and Professor Samuel Moore's "Studies in the Life-Records of Chaucer," *Anglia*, xxv, 19 ff.

ties of types D and E. But the essential correctness of the types, in respect of an acceptable rhythmic movement is confirmed by the persistence of the 'native' versification into the later periods of the language, sustaining itself in national consciousness under the severest tests of linguistic revolutions and in a necessary surrender to foreign supremacy. On the other hand, the unassailable merit of the system consists in its complete fidelity to the accentual principles of the language. It is by the help of Anglo-Saxon versification, as formulated by Sievers, that the grammarian arrives at the details relating to word-accent and sentence-emphasis, and it is this earliest versification that gives the clearest view of the rhythmic resources inherent in the language,—a view that is still not appreciated by many prosodists, altho it is manifestly indispensable to a right understanding of the rhythmic management of the language in all periods of its history.

Hardly any one's guess would hit the specific meaning of the title of Dr. Neuner's dissertation. One would at once say, and correctly too, that the purpose is to show that all the half-lines of the accepted normal types do not have just two stresses, but that some are also organically constructed with but one stress, others with three stresses. The accentually strong types D and E might also be suspected to receive special attention in connection with a theoretical three-stress form, but the one-stress form would probably not be suspected to be Sievers' A3.

A description of A3 may for convenience be quoted from Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 232: 'The first half-line admits a notable form of type A. The alliteration is restricted to the second arsis, because of the light character of the first arsis. The lightness of the first foot is also favorable to an increased number of syllables in the thesis.' Few teachers will not admit that the beginner has difficulty in promptly recognizing this form. One may be justified in assuming that this experience of the beginner has been shared by Dr. Neuner, and has led him to attempt to prove that the accepted scansion of the form is not correct. When the alliteration is deferred to the second foot, can it not be shown that the versifier has purposely produced a half-line with but one stress (*einhebig*)? Dr. Neuner believes that it can, and proceeds to do it. The point of attack is, of course, the lightness of the first stress, which is often not strictly warranted by the grammatical gradation of accents available for ictus, what is here designated *die Dynamik der Redeteile*.

Accepting the types set up by Sievers as the most satisfactory *Arbeitshypothese*, Dr. Neuner has gone over (*ausgebeutet*) the entire *Beowulf* to obtain complete lists of (1) *Hebungs-Wörter*, (2) *Hebungsfähige Wörter*, (3) *Unhebige Wörter*. Armed with this mass of evidence (pp. 13-33), he advances to the attack of A3, which is conducted under the 'cry' *Einhebigkeit* (pp. 33-48). The argument is based on an alternative proposition resulting from

the evidence of the foregoing lists, according to which the syllables preceding the alliterating foot in A3 are, in the instance of a number (*mehrere*) of these half-lines, all excluded from the categories capable of stress. It follows, therefore, either that these half-lines are to be regarded as structurally complete with only one stress, or that for these forms one must admit principles governing availability of stress that differ from the principles observed in the structure of all other types having more than one stress.

The demonstration is at once refuted by the admission that the stress of the first foot (to keep the usual designation) falls on a word that belongs to the list of *hebungsfähige Wörter*, for this is just the condition that justifies the exclusive alliteration of the second foot. Another position for a weak foot is at the end of the line, and in these light feet the grammatical weight of the ictus is also that of syllables 'capable of the ictus.' Of course every final foot of the complete line is not weak, just as A3 is merely a variation of type A with alliteration of the first foot, or of both the first and second. Manifestly these two well marked classes of the light stress are equally indispensable factors of the rhythm. Surely to deny the regular rhythmic function of one of these classes involves the question of the rhythmic validity of the other.

Dr. Neuner does not, however, reason in the manner suggested. He has notably failed to read the evidence of his second list of stress-elements. Thruout that list the stress of the last foot of the line he has classified as secondary (*Nebenhebung*), which is not only in violation of rhythmic structure, but is directly subversive of his specific contention respecting A3. The dominant principle of Germanic sentence-accent and of stress gives precedence in weight to the first positon in a sequence of grammatically equal elements, but that in itself does not rob the element in the second position of its rhythmic value. In *siððan hātan* and *ār nē siððan* (*Beo.* 2806 b, 718 b), the stress on *siððan* is in each instance a true rhythmic stress. Still this precedence in position is not to be undervalued. In the second half-line it commands the right of alliteration. In A3 this precedence is overpowered by the grammatical weight of the second stress, but it remains operative in sustaining the rhythmic function of the initial but light foot.

Turning now to the chapter entitled *Einhebigkeit* with its page upon page of examples (from *Beowulf*) of this figment of first half-lines allowed to have but one stress, one immediately encounters a statement that the rejected stresses are on words that have been shown in the preceding chapter to be capable of light stress (*Nebenhebung*). Stresses allowed in the second half-line are now excluded from the rhythm: *syððan hē for wlenco* (1206), *syððan ic on yrre* (2092) illustrate the point. More space than is here available would be required to show the amplitude of this contradiction in denying stresses in the first half-line that are admitted into the second half-line, but here is one more illustration of it: *ēhtende wæs*

(159 b), *wæs min fæder* (262 a). But a complete collation of the light stresses in these two positions would leave a considerable residuum of light stresses that are especially appropriate at the beginning of the line. These are made appropriate by logical emphasis. Prominent among the words thus stressed are *swā*, *oð*, *gif*, *ac*, *þæt*, *ðā*, *ðær*, and a few others; and the finite verb should be mentioned, altho it is also frequent at the end of the line, which clearly demonstrates the rhythmic parity just pointed out.

Dr. Neuner has classified his examples according to pseudo-technicalities,—non-significant distinctions in the order and number of the words in the initial foot; and he has obscured his meaning in many instances by his uniform disuse of stress-marks. With apparently a feeble sense for rhythm, he has enslaved his judgment to a fixed evaluation of the grammatical categories, so that when these crowd in upon him in diversified groupings his discomfiture and helplessness are complete. He consequently takes refuge in a theory that resolves his difficulties with a succession of light words and an excess of incidental (*blind*) alliteration. As formulated (pp. 48, 84), the resultant theory is as follows: The half-lines designated by A3 are mono-stressed, because the so-called first foot contains no word of inevitable stress, but only words of two classes, those that may carry a secondary stress, and those that are found to be always unstressed. Moreover, the mono-stressed form serves a special stylistic purpose. Standing at the beginning of a clause, it supplies a gradual approach to weightier expression (*als Eingang zu folgender Emphase*); *sie sind also Mittel indirekter Emphase*.

The indirect emphasis of the light forms considered is complemented by the direct emphasis of the heavy forms of D and E. This function has been conceded to hypermetric forms, but the *Dynamik der Redeteile* establishes the scansion with three stresses of those half-lines which have three ‘important’ words,—words fully entitled to stress. Briefly that is the conclusion of the second branch of Dr. Neuner’s argument. His erroneous reasoning now becomes especially surprising. He fails to grasp the grammatical and accentual principles that led Rieger to notice the operation of enclisis in a sequence of ‘important’ words; and he does not perceive how this results in making clear that the principle of word-grouping is in strict conformity with the accentuation of substantive compounds. In his interpretation of A3 he has not perceived the rhythm in a sequence of light words; and now in dealing with forms of D and E he commits, with perhaps less excuse, the gross error of disregarding the principles governing, in both prose and verse, the accentuation and rhythmic movement of sequences of words belonging to the weightier categories. In all this he submits to be controlled by the exigencies of his theory, according to which scansion is determined by the detached weight of stress-elements.

He has taken a step backward from the position gained by competent study.

Undoubtedly the grammatical features of the Anglo-Saxon line are correctly codified in the types devised by Professor Sievers; and the *Zweihebungstheorie* is, one must believe, irrefutable. If anything can be done in the way of expounding the aesthetic response to this system of rhythmic forms (and to the later 'tumbling verse'), Dr. Neuner has surely not shown how that is to be done.

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*A Study of Shakespeare's Versification, with an Inquiry into the Trustworthiness of the Early Texts, an Examination of the 1616 Folio of Ben Jonson's Works, and Appendices including a Revised Text of 'Antony and Cleopatra.'* By M. A. Bayfield (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1920). The promised book (see *MLN.* xxxv, 126) has appeared, but with a title so amplified and varied as to divert the mind from the specific expectation aroused by the author's preliminary treatise setting forth "A New System of English Prosody."

It is a hopeless task to attempt to convince Professor Bayfield of the error dominating his scansion of what is plainly iambic versification. One can only ask him to clear his conscience as a scholar by a careful study of the principles of English accentuation and of the principles observed by the poets thru the centuries in sustaining the rhythmic permissibilities of the language, thus establishing a rhetoric of verse more subtle in calling up the finer distinctions of the meaning of words and the finer relations of the thought than the rhetoric of prose-emphasis as usually understood. Plain words in this matter have become necessary. As a classical scholar Professor Bayfield would surely not be tolerant of a novice in Greek who might venture by subjectivities and unsound analogies to overthrow results of Greek scholarship. Many so-called prosodists are the merest tyros in the knowledge of the rhythmic principles of English,—it is a class to which a scholar does not belong.

Adhering to the trochaic theory, set forth in *The Measures of the Poets*, the author scans countless lines in support of that unhappy figment. Not to perceive the simple iambic movement of the following lines, chosen at random, does not prepare one to discuss the versification of any English poet. Professor Bayfield scans as follows, marking off anacrusis by a vertical line of dots, and interpreting the movement as being trochaic, with assumed pauses, resolutions, and prolongations:

I : come to | bury | Caesar, | not to | praise him.

To : sleep ; per|chance to | dream : ay | there's the | rub. ^

That my : keen | knife ^ | see not the | wound it | makes.

But in the stately volume of more than five hundred pages the author's purpose is to show that the characteristic feature of Shakespeare's verse is an excessive use—surpassing that of any of his contemporaries—of 'resolutions,' which have tempted "the actors to mangle it [the verse] by clipping the words when they could, and provoking those responsible for the Quartos and the Folio, and modern editors also, to do their best to eliminate them as improper." The excess is not there, tho Shakespeare may have become more free in this matter in the progress of his art; and printers and editors were surely influenced by varying fashion in the spelling of words and in sequences that admitted the mark of elision.

Between the "good metre" of Gascoigne, for example, which is notoriously regular and the loosely running lines of a Massinger there lies a wide belt of variations in the practice of 'resolution' and of devices that are classed under the general head of 'slurring'; and within the limits of this scale of variations falls the practice of using secondary accents as ictus. To observe a poet's place on this scale is to pave the way to the recognition of characteristic features of his art. But that this 'placing' of a poet is not a task so easy that the merest novice may perform it, is demonstrated in the divergency of results when it has been attempted by professional hands. There is still disagreement respecting Chaucer's versification, a subject that has, for the most part, been in only professional hands; but here all controversy has been, accordingly, reduced to matters of relatively minor importance. One schooled in Chaucer's versification is not misled by the traditions or caprices of orthography; the law of rhythm is dominant and discloses the poet's manner of adapting the language to it. Shakespeare's versification is, from this point of view, a simpler problem, but Professor Bayfield has brought fresh confusion into it by first holding the poet to the observance of structural details that no English poet could ever have accepted as warranted by the rhythmic principles of the language; and secondly, by unsound reasoning touching the fashion of the printer's orthography, for by the contemporary evidence of more responsible editorship the argument from the Quartos and Folio (p. 50 ff.) has been rightly turned just the other way.

Professor Bayfield has erected a monument to misapplied industry. The chapters reported on the title-page are deprived of serious interest because he has based all discussion on an absurdly erroneous theory of rhythmic structure and on an incomplete knowledge of the elementary and fundamental facts in the historical grammar and conventionalities of English rhythms.

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